FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ZHIVKOV SPEECH AT 5 JUNE SOFIA ELECTION MEETING

AU101205 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jun 81 pp 1-2

[Speech by BCP First Secretary Todor Zhivkov at election meeting of the 281st election district constituency--Sofia Dimitrov Rayon--held at the Sofia Palace of Culture Congress Hall on 5 June 1981]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, comrades citizens of Dimitrov Rayon in our glorious capital! I know, as everyone does, that the confidence in us, the Fatherland Front candidates for National Assembly deputies and councillors, is above all else, an expression of our people's great confidence in the BCP, in its general line and policy, in the practical activities of the party and state connected with the construction of a developed socialist society in our country and in defending world peace. As a communist, as one of the party and state leaders, I am proud of this great confidence and I am deeply grateful to our heroic and industrious people, having feelings of filial affection toward them. (stormy and prolonged applause).

Together with all communists, all BNAU comrades and all nonparty candidates for National Assembly deputies and for councillors we are aware of one thing: We are not appearing before our constituents as anonymous and faceless candidates of the Fatherland Front, but as individual personalities, with our biographies and our own contribution to the people's cause. What is even more important: We all assume our own, individual responsibilities. Permit me, esteemed comrades, to most sincerely thank you for the trust and confidence which you have shown in me personally, in electing me as your candidate for the National Assembly. (prolonged applause) I would like to assure you that I am aware of the responsibility I am assuming and that I will not spare any effort and time for our people's sake, for their prosperity and for the power of our motherland and of the socialist community, for peace throughout the world. (stormy and prolonged applause)

Comrades, the election campaign is drawing to a close. The day after tomorrow our people will vote, they will say their word on the composition of the central and local government organs. The mood in our country is festive, the atmosphere is bright. There are no struggles, no cliques competing with each other, there are no personal squabbles, no competing over who is going to promise more and tell the greater lies. There are no prospects for sensations on election day either--there is nothing that deserves the attention of foreign propaganda. There is nothing besides a party congress which attracted the attention of communists and progressive people throughout the world and focused this attention on Bulgaria, a congress which earned us the recognition of communists and progressive people in the world. This was the 12th BCP Congress, which will remain for a long time the main subject of our celebrations, but also the main focus of our daily working achievements, a congress which was justifiably called a historic one. (prolonged applause)

Comrades, we have every reason to admit that we, the present National Assembly candidates, were helped considerably in our tasks, to put it mildly. It happened that the election campaign for the fatherland front platform practically began with the precongress discussion of the draft theses and expanded at the congress sessions, manifested itself in eloquent congress documents and was pursued in the congress decisions. The entire election campaign proceeded under the auspices of the 12th BCP Congress decisions; throughout the election meetings held all over the country the same calm and businesslike atmosphere prevailed as did throughout our congress. I admit that there have been cases in which leaders at various levels were forced to listen to severe criticism about themselves. No one can delude himself that everything proceeds smoothly in our country, that we have no unresolved problems, that there are no just demands which are still unfulfilled.

I am, nevertheless, deeply convinced that there has never been even one case in which the speaker has been forced to persuade his audience and his constituents that the path along which our socialist motherland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is confidently marching forward is the correct one. On this question of crucial importance the Bulgarian people are unanimous. (stormy and pr longed applause)

Loyalty to the people and the socialist motherland, loyalty to the policy of the April plenum on the country's development, the ability to work and struggle actively for the implementation of the 12th BCP Congress decisions--these are the qualities which our National Assembly candidates are professing in appearing before the people, this is the criterion according to which the people are evaluating them and will evaluate them on 7 June, 1981. This is why the speeches and statements made at election meetings were mainly devoted to the 12th BCP Congress decisions and to the tasks stemming from these congress decisions on a national and local scale.

In these circumstances I am facing the serious danger, as the last speaker of the election campaign, that I will bore my listeners in repeating once more everything that has already been stated and written. This is why I will at least try to be brief.

As you know, the 12th BCP Congress determined the following to be the main socioeconomic task of the eighth 5-year plan period: to continue the policy of comprehensively satisfying the constantly growing material, intellectual and social needs of the people on the basis of an intensification of the national economy and consistently to apply the new economic approach and its mechanism, as well as further to perfect socialist social relations.

Thus, the main factor in the socioeconomic tasks for the Eighth 5-Year Plan period remains the improvement of the people's living standard. (stormy and prolonged applause)

How will this be manifested in detail?

In 1985 the average annual wages will reach 2,500 leva, while the minimum monthly wage, which amount to 100 leva today, will increase to 120 leva. No less than 400,000 housing units will be built during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period. Pensions will periodically increase, the lowest pensions will have a priority increase, so that they will reach the level of half the minimum workers wages. The construction of facilities for children will be pursued and funds will be provided for ensuring the material security of mothers so that they can take care of their children up to the age of 3. (prolonged applause) Considerable sums will further be provided for the improvement of health services, and for the development of education, science, culture and the arts. There will be considerably more and better consumer goods from the industrial and agricultural sectors, and there will be a greater variety. The public services network will be expanded and its quality improved. (applause)

As you see, in these difficult times, when the general crisis of capitalism is getting worse, when this crisis is intensified in the capitalist world, and energy, raw materials and financial crises are in full swing, in these difficult times when in the capitalist countries unemployment and inflation are rising and the working masses' living standard is deteriorating, when all the people in those countries can hope for is a slower decline in the living standard, we in socialist Bulgaria have taken on the task of further improving our people's living standard.

What is this? Is this election campaign demagogy? Are these perhaps good and sincere, but unfeasible, intentions?

No comrades, our intentions are both good and realistic. There is something more--we have the ambition and this ambition is well-founded--to overfulfill the projects adopted by the 12th BCP Congress. (stormy and prolonged applause)

Of course, this by no means implies that the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period are easy and will be fulfilled without any effort. Conscious and persevering efforts of our workers class, of the agricultural toilers and of the people's intelligentsia are required. It is necessary to fully devote our material and intellectual efforts and capabilities, to devote our people's whole potential to these tasks.

What is the basis of our realistic approach and of our conviction? In spelling out the main economic tasks the following thought is expressed: This can be done on the basis of the intensification of national economy, on the basis of consistently applying the economic approach and its mechanism, on the basis of the further improvement of socialist social relations.

These questions were dealt with in detail in the accountability report submitted to the 12th BCP Congress. I will take the liberty to mention them briefly.

First. Intensification of National Economy

To put it in the most general terms, the questions of the people's living standard in the socialist society, where there is no exploitation of man by man, are questions of the national income, of social labor productivity, of economic efficiency and of efficiency in other spheres of social activities, as well as a question of production quality.

The opportunities for extensive development have already been exhausted in our country. Now, the main trend in the struggle for a high living standard for the people is the struggle for the comprehensive intensification of the national economy. Our party has been assigned the task of selecting the method of intensive development and this happened as early as about 15 years ago. Much has been accomplished in this respect. It is enough to recall that in the last years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan period almost the entire increase in the national income was achieved by increased labor productivity.

What is new about our present intensive development policy? The new factor is that we are now dealing with an intensification of both the entire material production sphere and nonproduction sphere. We are now talking about the most comprehensive of labor resources, of the labor instruments and of manpower. We are now talking about a drastic diminuation of expenditure per production unit. We are now dealing with the introduction of modern scientific and technological achievements and with the transition to general automation in other production branches, with the most extensive propagation and application of the advanced experience of frontranking enterprises and advanced individual workers. (applause)

The trend to comprehensive intensification will provide us with excellent prerequisites for a drastic, and in some production branches, even manifold increase in labor productivity, for increasing our production and reducing costs, for improving production qualities and for raising the people's living standard. (applause)

Second: Consistent Application of the Economic Approach and Its Mechanism

In the last years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan period we assigned ourselves the goal of coordinating the interests of society, of collectives and individual workers in such a way as to stimulate socioeconomic activities and initiative, to overcome contradictions between the relatively large material-technical base and its incomplete and inefficient use. We are developing and applying the new economic approach and new economic mechanism. This is an objective necessity of our development, stemming from the fact that the merchandise character [stokoviya] of production continues to exist also under a mature socialist society. We are working out a comprehensive system of economic methods and of instruments for influencing and settling the forms of the organization, a system which encompasses planning and production, as well as distribution and management.

Thus, the economic organization of society will be fully in accordance with the action of the objective laws of socialism. The basic principle of the new economic mechanism is that every social activity should be based on the cost accounting principle and on its core--the principle of self-sufficiency. Further, the role of the collectives will be enhanced in the management of the means of production. Profits obtained as a result of economic activities are becoming the basic criteria of work for the collective. The functional character of wages must ensure the uniformity of the interests of society, of the working collective and of the individual. (applause)

Third: Perfection of the Socialist Social Relations and Further Expansion of Socialist Democracy

As is known, the development of the political system is determined by quantitative and qualitative changes that occur in the material-technical base. At the same time, the political system is in turn exerting its influence upon the base. This is precisely why we are now devoting efforts to perfect our comprehensive political system and at the same time we are adopting measures enabling us to make the influence of the political system upon the base more effective, so that obstacles may be removed and optimal opportunities may be expanded for deploying our strategy.

What are the most important features in the development of socialist democracy throughout the forthcoming period?

The main thing is the perfection of representative democracy, on the one hand, and the coordination of representative and direct democracy. Involving millions of working people in the country's administration, in the accomplishment of all tasks in the economic, political and cultural construction sectors, on the other.

The main and decisive task now is to enhance the role of the individual working man and of every collective and community in social life, in the country's material and intellectual development. (prolonged applause)

I should like to point out in particular the importance of the new economic approach and of its mechanism in connection with consolidating the economic foundations of socialist democracy and in the development and activities of our comprehensive political system.

The development of socialist democracy demands a further improvement and enhancing of the leading and guiding role played by the BCP in all activities exerted by the political system in our society.

As a result of all this, comrades, the accomplishment of the main socioeconomic task for the period in which our new National Assembly will be acting demands considerable efforts from us in connection with the intensification of the national economy, with applying the new economic approach and its mechanism as well as in connection with the further perfection of socialist social relations.

It is now necessary to decisively enhance the role of science as a productive force of primary importance; it is necessary to increase the qualifications of specialists, of leading and executive cadres; it is necessary to improve discipline--in the working, planning, financial and technological sectors, as well as in all activities and in all places.

It is necessary to eliminate bureaucratic obstacles and instruments of obstruction from our path.

It is necessary for the working man to voice his opinion with full strength and power and that his voice should be heard everywhere--in plants and fields and in all organs, at all levels of government and power! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Comrades, the international atmosphere and the circumstances under which we are now adopting the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period are complicated and full of tension. Several National Assembly candidates have dealt with this subject in their recent election speeches and I have done so myself. It has all been said.

Everything is clear. However, since it is not possible to make a speech in our country without mentioning the international situation, I must say a few words on this subject as well.

Unfortunately, each passing day increasingly confirms the conclusion that the militant imperialist circles are violent opponents of detente and peaceful coexistence, that they are consciously and intentionally pushing the world along the path of the arms race and --in the long run--toward a thermonuclear war. Those who close their eyes to this fact or underestimate it, are not only indulging in political blindness, but are becoming accomplices in the preparation of the most outrageous crime against mankind.

By no means should the danger of war be underestimated, but it should not be overestimated either. War is not inevitable. Those who do not care for the ideals of peace and humanitarianism, who are only dreaming of military superiority and only believe in the dialogue of nuclear explosions as regards their relations with the world of socialism, must be compelled to take into consideration the will of mankind for peace, for detente and social progress! (stormy and prolonged applause)

What does all this mean translated into practical deeds?

In the first place, we must make every effort to accomplish the tasks of Bulgaria's social, economic and cultural development during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, and to consolidate the people's moral-political unity in the struggle for peace, prosperity, and for the flourishing of our socialist fatherland! (applause)

Secondly, we must contribute to the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, to the political, economic and defensive power of the Warsaw Pact member-states. We must not allow the existing balance of power in armaments to be disturbed to the advantage of imperialism and reaction, to the advantage of war. (applause)

Thirdly, we must contribute to consolidating the unity and power of the worldwide communist and workers movement. We must give all-round assistance to the national liberation movements, to the countries and peoples struggling for freedom, independence and social progress. We must expand mutual relations and unity of actions with the countries, parties and movements, with political, state and business circles and with individual leaders supporting the policy of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation among states with different social systems--and we must expand these relations along all lines in developing party, state, social, and individual relations and cooperation. (applause)

That is what we have to do, comrades, and that is what we are actually doing--our party and our state are doing all this for the preservation and consolidation of peace.

Our peace-loving policy is universally recognized. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is contributing to the development of peace and cooperation in the Balkans. Our recent visit to the Republic of Greece, our meetings and talks with Mr Karamanlis, the president of the Republic of Greece, was also evaluated as a contribution to peace in the Balkans and in Europe.

Our foreign policy is consistent and unmistakable. The fact that we belong to the world of socialism, as well as our fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union--this is the basic core of our international relations. (stormy and prolonged applause) The goal of our foreign policy is to ensure the most favorable international prerequisites for building a developed socialist society in our country and this, above all else, means to ensure conditions of peace. Our program is the peace program worked out and adopted by the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses and set out in the reports read by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, remarkable leader of the worldwide communist and workers movement, universally recognized champion of the struggle for peace and social progress. (stormy and prolonged applause)

From this rostrum, we would like once again to assure our allies of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, to assure all our friends and fellow-workers who are struggling for peace, freedom, independence, democracy, social progress and socialism, that as in the past, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to proceed also in the future side by side with them in the struggle for peace and for the freedom and happiness of mankind! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Comrades: Our motherland's international prestige is very high, indeed. It is the result of our consistent policy of peace, understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation. To no lesser extent it is the result of the successes we have achieved in the years of socialist construction, and in particular, in the years following the April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee. (prolonged applause)

I am happy that, in assessing all these achievements, I can address our workers class, the working peasants and our socialist people's intelligentsia and tell them from the bottom of my heart:

Thank you, dear comrades! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Thank you, too, working people of the militant and industrious Dimitrov Rayon! (stormy and prolonged applause) Thank you, all citizens of our expanding, growing, but eternally youthful capital of Sofia! (stormy and prolonged applause) To Sofia, which has always made a fundamental contribution to the development of our country's economic and intellectual power, thank you citizens of Sofia, who during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period were the first to fulfill the plans ahead of schedule and the first to report on these successes! (stormy and prolonged applause)

I do not doubt that in the noble competition for the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 12th BCP Congress, which is now underway in our country, you, the citizens of our capital, will not fall behind in your frontranking positions as builders of a mature socialist society. (stormy and prolonged applause)

With this gratitude to you and to all our working people, with this wish for new successes along the entire front of struggles for material and intellectual progress, I call upon you, the constituents in all parts and corners of our motherland: let us all unanimously vote for the candidates of the fatherland front. (stormy and prolonged applause)

Long live our socialist motherland--the People's Republic of Bulgaria! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Long live the Bulgarian people--the creators and masters of all material and intellectual assets in our country! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Long live the BCP--with which at its head Bulgaria is entering its 14th century of existence--as a free nation, with powerful allies and is confidently looking forward to its future! (stormy and prolonged applause)

Let us march forward under the banner of the Fatherland Front, under the experienced leadership of our BCP--let us march forward to new successes for the sake of our people's happiness and well-being! (all rise, stormy and very prolonged applause as well as cheers "BCP-BCP" and "Forward With the BCP" fill the hall for a long time)

BTA DECLARATION ON ISRAELI ATTACK AGAINST IRAQ

AU100927 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 10 Jun 81

["BTA Declaration"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jun (BTA)--With a feeling of indignation and deep concern the Bulgarian public learnt the news of another brutal and aggressive act of the Israeli warmongers--the air raids over the nuclear research centre near Baghdad.

This air raid adds another link to the chain of military crimes, which for years on end have been accompanying the Israeli state, a state which has turned international terrorism in an integral part of its foreign policy. It is a natural consequence of the Camp David bargain, which untied the hands of the most reactionary circles in Tel Aviv for more aggressive actions against those of the Arab states, which by rejecting the separate deals are seeking a global and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem.

The bandit action of the Zionists would have been impossible were it not for the United States' backing of Israel, were it not for the United States which supplied the Israeli war machine with sophisticated military equipment meant not to ensure the security of Israel as its Washington patrons are hypocritically insisting, but to sow death and destruction among the Arab towns and villages.

The cynical declaration of the Israeli Government made after the attack is nothing less but a new testimony to the complete contempt of the Tel Aviv regime for the elementary norms of international law, for the sovereignty and the territorial inviolability of other states.

No one can be deceived by the hypocritical allegations of the Zionist leaders, that the nuclear activity of Iraq posed a threat to Israeli security. It is a fact of general knowledge that Iraq is participant in the treaty for non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and its entire activity in the sphere of nuclear research is carried out under the control of the International Agency of Atomic Energy, while it is Israel which doggedly declines to join the treaty. Isn't this an evidence of the ill-disguised ambition of Tel Aviv to include this lethal nuclear weapon in its arsenal.

The Bulgarian public is well aware that the aggressive terrorist acts of Israel are part and parcel of the global strategy of the American imperialism and its allies, who, by further straining the explosion-prone situation in the Middle East are seeking to sabotage the process of detente in international relations, to step up the arms race and to push mankind to the very edge of the chasm of a destructive nuclear catastrophe.

The BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY is authorized to state that the People's Republic of Bulgaria strongly condemns the bandit armed attack of the Israeli aviation against the capital of the Iraqi Republic and considers that the entire responsibility for this criminal act lies on Israel and its inspirers and patrons--the United States of America.

An urgent task of all states and forces in the world to whom the cause of peace is dear, is to unite their efforts to curb the aggressor and to undertake effective measures to guarantee peace and security in the Middle East.

YAKOVLEV-LED CPSU DELEGATION ARRIVES ON VISIT

AU110811 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jun 81 p 6

[Text] A CPSU delegation led by Boris Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and Chief of the Letters Department at the CPSU Central Committee, has arrived in Bulgaria in connection with the BCP-CPSU interparty cooperation plan.

At Sofia airport the delegation was cordially welcomed by Prodan Stoyanov, chief of the Recordkeeping Department at the BCP Central Committee, and by other high-ranking officials at the Central Committee. Nikita Tolubeyev, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, was also present.

MEDIA REPORTAGE OF PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Plenum Criticizes Solidarity

LD101738 Prague CTK in English 1621 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jun (CETEKA correspondent)--Inconsistent work of the Polish United Workers' Party and negative phenomena in political, economic and social life, as well as the destructive activities of "Solidarity" leaders were criticized during the debate at the 11th session of the Central Committee of the party. Eighteen speakers, Central Committee members and alternates called for a resolute struggle for greater unity and action ability of the party, and for strengthening of its leading role in society.

General Wlodzimierz Sawczuk said that crisis in Poland was deepening and that no radical measures are being adopted to surmount it. Only declarations, appeals and assurances are being made, and the growth of counterrevolutionary groups causes understandable concern of Poland's friends. He pointed out that anti-Sovietism is one of the main means used to weaken and destroy the community of the socialist countries and the Warsaw Treaty.

Janusz Brych, head of a party Central Committee department, said that further interference of some "Solidarity" activists in the internal affairs of the party can no longer be tolerated. Some "Solidarity" officials, who are not party members, are exerting pressure to influence the election of secretaries and delegates to party conferences and the congress, he said.

Politburo member Andrzej Zabinski, first secretary of the voivodship (regional) party committee in Katowice, said that events confirmed that there is no chance of an agreement with the sworn enemy of the socialist system. "Your allies express justified concern because they have their own painful experience with crises".

Foreign Trade Minister Ryszard Karski said that the principle of solving conflicts by political means without resorting to the use of force is not always successful, and stressed the importance of the economic aid of the Soviet Union. He warned that in the first five months of this year, Polish exports to capitalist states dropped by 24 percent.

Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union Kazimierz Olszewski said that the USSR wants Poland as a strong and loyal partner, and that the world is tired of Poland's anarchy. "If we fail to solve the crisis by ourselves--and our friends want to believe that we will be able to do so--a disaster may occur."

Grabski Says Kania 'Unable'

LD101800 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee is in the second day of its deliberations on the situation in the country and on preparations for the ninth extraordinary party congress. Our correspondent Francisek Sojka has sent the following report on today's Central Committee deliberations:

Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, stated that the party leadership must also carry blame for the continuing growth of dangerous tendencies in the country. According to him, for several months the Politburo has not been consolidated and is not a united, leading body. Many decisions were being made outside the Politburo, such as the legalization of Rural Solidarity.

Comrade Tadeusz Grabski also mentioned examples of problems which had been dealt with by the Politburo, and about which he, a Politburo member, knew nothing. He stressed the responsibility of the party leadership for its fate and for the fate of the entire nation.

Tadeusz Grabski noted that the main mistake of the leadership was activity in the spirit of false loyalty, and he said that the PZPR Central Committee Politburo--in its current composition and under the leadership of Stanislaw Kania--is unable to lead the country out of the crisis.

Also speaking in today's discussion was Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who reviewed the current social, economic and political crisis in Poland and the ineffectiveness of the means used to date to overcome it.

A number of participants pointed out the decisive importance of observing party discipline and principles of democratic centralism.

Plenum Criticizes Politburo

LD102138 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 10 Jun 81

[By Pokorny, "Our permanent" correspondent in Warsaw]

[Text] The 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum continued in Warsaw today. The entire day was devoted to the discussion of the report prepared by the Politburo on the current situation in the country and on preparations for the extraordinary, ninth congress.

The majority of the contributions can be characterized as open and critical. The individual participants in the discussion spoke critically about the Politburo's work. In their view the Politburo has not appreciated accurately enough the depth and danger of the crisis. The use of political means in overcoming the existing situation cannot be interpreted as a defensive standpoint of the party, one participant said. Another participant pointed out the minimum representation of workers in the new party bodies and among the delegates elected to the congress. This information testified to the attempts at manipulation by some forces who are trying to take from the party its Marxist-Leninist character, said Albin Siwak, candidate member of the Central Committee and foreman of a construction brigade.

At the moment there is a break in the deliberations at the Central Committee plenary meeting. This break is used to clarify certain questions connected with the proposals made by some participants in the discussion who have expressed doubts as to whether the existing Politburo is capable of succeeding in overcoming the crisis facing the country. So far it is not known whether the PZPR Central Committee plenary session will continue during the night or tomorrow.

Coverage Summary

LD102358 [Editorial Report] On 10 June CSSR media extensively covered the PZPR Central Committee Plenum session held in Warsaw 9-10 June. Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1430 GMT carried a 1,000-word report which said that the members "spoke very critically about the party's inconsistent work, about the ever deeper negative phenomena in political, social and economic life, and about the destructive activity of Walesa trade union leaders and antisocialist forces. They advocated a decisive struggle for the strengthening of unity, for enhancing the party's ability to act and for consolidating its leading role in society." Those cited are Janusz Prokopisk, Janusz Brych, Stanislaw Zielinski, Stanislaw Miskiewicz, Ryszard Labus, and Andrzej Zabinski.

Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak at 1600 GMT carried a report with a similar introduction and cited Zabinski again, Foreign Trade Minister Ryszard Karski, Polish Ambassador to the USSR Kazimierz Olszewski, and Anton Wrobel.

Prague CTK in English at 1620 GMT carried a 400-word report citing Gen Wlodmierz Sawczuk, Janusz Brych, Andrzej Zabinski, Karski and Olszewski.

Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1630 GMT carried a report citing speakers already reported by earlier newscasts.

Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1630 GMT carried a 300-word report on the speech by Tadeusz Grabski including his criticism of the Politburo and Kania, and also on the speech by Deputy Premier Rakowski.

Prague CTK in English at 1947 GMT carried a 500-word report on speeches by Roman Ney, Albin Siwak, Grabski, Jerzy Jusiak, Tadeusz Fiszbach, Deputy National Defense Minister Gen Eugeniusz Molczyk, Henryk Szablak and Zbigniew Glowacki--most on alliance with the USSR and on the Solidarity trade union.

Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak at 2000 GMT carried a 250-word Frantiszek Sojka Warsaw dispatch on the Politburo meeting in the interval in the plenum session and on the plenum's rejection of Kania's proposal of a vote of confidence.

Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak at 2000 GMT carried a 300-word Warsaw dispatch by correspondent Pokorny on the plenum session noting that most of the contributions are "open and critical," and remarking on the break in the debate.

Later in the same newscast Prague Television repeated the CTK 1947 GMT dispatch.

RUDE PRAVO ATTACKS SOLIDARITY ON SIWAK CASE

AU102017 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jun 81 p 6

[Jan Lipavsky and Karol Mikulka, RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondents: "On the Margin of One Smear Campaign; The Honor of Albin Siwak"]

[Text] "The party is not smashed yet, but it is in the process of being smashed," said Albin Siwak, master bricklayer and member of the PZPR Central Committee, in the opening part of his speech delivered at the Higher School of Social Sciences attached to the PZPR Central Committee recently. And, the periodical PLOMIENIE comments, this was in harmony with the views of the participants in that meeting, at which--let us add--other interesting views had also been expressed. For example, Jan Bogdan of the periodical NOWE DROGI stated: "We must act as a militant party and not as a party of corrupt compromises." And Kazimierz Zarzycki of the Higher School of Social Sciences said: "One has to take a look at those who talk about renewal" and that some of the people in the arena of renewal are "ideological fellow travellers."

It is not infrequent that people who talk like that come, so to speak, "under fire" because they call things and phenomena by their correct name. There have been quite a few cases of such people being chased--by various means--out of political life.

The truth is that the political struggle for the character of the party of Polish communists is intensifying.

After all, it is known that some "Solidarity" leaders, steered by Kuron's KOR, have been establishing contacts with various members of the PZPR, particularly with those that are politically disoriented and unstable, and with various liberals, and are talking them into not voting precisely for those comrades who are standing in the way of their endeavors to subvert the party ideologically, and its cadres too. On 3 June, TRYBUNA LUDU noted cases of "Solidarity" grossly interfering in the party's internal affairs. At the same time, the newspaper drew attention to the fact that there still exists a number of forces and groups which exert pressure on all those who hold views differing from theirs.

It is normal that under these circumstances honest people are being publicly vilified.

Such an attack has been recently unleashed against the construction foreman, Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee and deputy chairman of the construction workers union. (He is known to RUDE PRAVO readers, however, from an interview published on 28 May.) This attack has happened, characteristic of "Solidarity's" *so-called interventionist* activity. The gentlemen of Mazowsze "Solidarity" published a news bulletin in which they accused Albin Siwak of several sins [nepravosti]: In the first place that he allegedly "attacks 'Solidarity'" (tantamount to a mortal sin); that--as the chairman of the housing commission of the Warsaw construction combine Wschod--he is violating the criteria regarding allocation of apartments, and that he also built a villa for a certain citizen and weekend chalets in Konstantyn without a permit; and, some "Solidarity" officials claimed that Comrade Siwak has no proper professional qualifications, that his brigade committed "indictable" errors in building apartments, that the brigade has been receiving undeserved bonuses, that it has been getting preferential treatment regarding the supply of material, and so fourth.

"We hope," the authors of the news bulletin wrote to television, "that you will make a report about all this."

And television did. Only, as it emerged, the author of the report did something different, something other than what "Solidarity" expected from him. The first sequences from Siwak's worksite showed that his fellow workers hold the foreman in esteem and will not let anyone say a bad word about him, even some of those who are "Solidarity" members. One of them--publicly and in front of the camera--admitted that it was he who tore down from the notice board a smear leaflet unjustly slandering Albin Siwak. He expressed--also in the name of other "Solidarity" members--full support for the foreman and condemned those slinging mud at an honest man.

The television report proved step by step that all accusations pertaining to Comrade Siwak were unfounded. It was obvious to everyone that the purpose of the accusations was to vilify and publicly shame a member of the party Central Committee. That happened precisely--and it was no coincidence--prior to the annual meeting of the PZPR's primary organization, prior to the annual voivodship party committees' conferences....

The camera recorded the truth.

What about that "violation of criteria regarding the allocation of apartments?" The director of the enterprise in which Comrade Siwak works depicted that allegation unequivocally as nonsense. And when someone asserts that Albin Siwak allocated something to himself, then that is an absolute fabrication. We would know about it, the director said. I have known him for years, and no one who knows him doubts his honesty.

The television reporter's probing questions about the "irresponsible building of apartments," about which "Solidarity" allegedly has evidence, were answered also by other ranking personnel and employees of the enterprise, and they absolved Siwak.

Workers, who justifiably feel offended by the slanders spread by "Solidarity," were presented to the public. With the feeling of having been wronged, members of Siwak's collective spoke about being assigned the assembly of the most difficult parts of the housing settlement and about "Solidarity" trumpeting about them as if they were getting their money for doing nothing.

All these gross slanders, including those about projects without a permit, from which a part of Siwak's collective was to have derived some sort of material benefit, have revealed how far human spite can lead. The aforementioned villa and weekend chalets were built on the basis of a proper contract concluded with the enterprise.

"On what basis have you actually accused Albin Siwak?" The television reporter asked one of the officials of Mazowsze "Solidarity."

A long-haired young man replied that all that is in the news bulletin they took from "Solidarity's" enterprise organization and allegedly they did not regard it as necessary to verify the individual accusations: "We do not even have the possibility of doing that," he said, adding that "we are getting whole heaps of such stuff. And, moreover, we have full trust in those who write these things for us...."

The finale of the whole case took place in a television studio, where--in front of the camera--Albin Siwak faced four "Solidarity" representatives. Two of them proudly admitted to being the authors of what was published in the news bulletin. They systematically asserted--at variance with all facts--that Siwak was dishonest.

And what especially got on their nerves was the way he talks about them. They quoted from his various public speeches and were relying on the fact that the confrontation in the television studio would turn out in their favor, that Siwak would suffer a fiasco.

In the following days, newspapers carried the following report:

"In connection with the television program about the conflict evoked by the spreading of unverified accusations against A. Siwak, a party functionary, trade unionist and foreman of the Warsaw construction combine Wschod, an open letter has arrived at PAP, signed by 105 chairmen of the enterprise committees of the union of workers in the textile, garment-making and leather-processing industry, requesting that it be published. The letter says, among other things, that Comrade Siwak holds courageous and principled positions on all important issues concerning the country's life and the good of the workers' class. He calls things and phenomena by their correct name, is noted for his moral purity and--with the voice of a worker--he points out all phenomena of evil. For this reason, he has won great respect and authority, and for this reason he is also attacked in various ways by those to whom he tells the truth straight to their face. The impudent attack on Albin Siwak has evoked indignation and protests among many working people...."

The chairmen of the 105 enterprise organizations pledged full and resolute support for A. Siwak. That happened more than a fortnight ago. Since then support has been arriving from hundreds of the country's other enterprises.

PRAGUE CPCZ COMMITTEE RETURNS FROM MOSCOW

LD101936 Prague CTK in English 1748 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jun (CETEKA correspondent)--A delegation of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party left here for home Wednesday after a tour of the city and a briefing about plans of its further development in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Head of the delegation, Chief Secretary of the Prague city committee of the party Antonin Kapek told CETEKA before leaving that the aim of the visit was to learn about the results of Moscow's economic and social development in the past two years. Attention was this time focused mainly on sports facilities, a weak point in Prague. In comparison with Prague, Moscow has a perfect system of transportation and the pace of construction work in both cities is about on the same level.

The delegation has obtained experience not only from the development of public transport but also in the field of water and heat supplies, Antonin Kapek said.

BRIEFS

NEW MINE OPENS--The new May Day Mine in Dubnany in Hodonin District started regular operation on 25 May. The mine, which has an annual extraction capacity of 600,000 tons of lignite, will replace the old depleted Dubnany May Day Mine. The mine will supply the Hodonin power plant with lignite. [Prague PRACE in Czech 26 May 81 p 6 AU]

SED, GOVERNMENT CONDEMN ISRAELI AIR STRIKE

LD100948 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] The SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council and the Council of Ministers most strongly condemns the barbaric raid by the Israeli Air Force on the capital of Iraq. The responsibility for this act of aggression by Israel rests with all those imperialist circles which support the Begin government's adventurist policy in the Near East. The GDR reaffirms its full solidarity with Iraq and all Arab countries, and at the same time declares itself in favor of a just and peaceful solution to the Near East problem in accordance with the Soviet and UN proposals.

The republic holds the immutable position that peace and security in the region demand the complete evacuation of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories as well as the guarantee of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians. This includes the right to return to their homeland, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Implications of Israeli Attack

DW101201 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1005 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Dr Bernd Sander commentary]

[Text] It is with great alarm that the international public has heard about the Israeli air raid on the nuclear research center near the Iraqi capital Baghdad. Dr Bernd Sander informs you about who is responsible for the dangerous situation.

In the Arab capitals warnings were expressed recently about Israel obviously planning a major military attack on the Arab states. This time the target was the Iraqi nuclear research center roughly 20 kilometers away from the Iraqi capital. Israeli fighter bombers flew over Saudi territory, the pilots claiming they were Jordanians, and then dropped their bombs on this scientific installation. Thus Tel Aviv has seriously aggravated the situation in the Middle East which is highly explosive anyway, and nobody knows what the consequences will be.

We must ask ourselves who is responsible for these developments in the Middle East which constitute a continuing threat to world peace. Israel's aggressive policy is certainly decisive for the Middle East conflict. But Israel is backed by other, more powerful pressure groups, especially in the United States. Israel pumps roughly half of its state expenditures into armament and has high foreign debts. But to be able to pursue such an expensive policy of aggression over many years one needs to have good friends, and Tel Aviv has them in Washington. Every year Israel receives from the United States financial injections running into the billions. It is also supplied with highly sophisticated military equipment. On the basis of Washington's tacit approval, money and arms, Israel attacks other Arab states. In this attack on Iraq, too, U.S. fighter bombers, the highly sophisticated F-15 and F-16, were put into action.

The United States is known to pursue very clear interests in the Middle East, it wants to bring this strategically important and raw-material-rich region under its control. Washington hopes it can achieve this with the help of Tel Aviv. Now that Israel has also attacked Iraq Washington pretends to be highly concerned. As the news agency OPA says literally, Washington reacted with annoyance. The U.S. State Department even talked of a very grave and alarming event. Nonetheless, these are just words, words said lightly.

After all, the White House was informed about the raid as early as Sunday afternoon. But the night and several more hours passed before the government decided to react. Washington has the power to check the Israeli aggressor, but halfhearted words merely aimed at soothing the world public are not enough.

I think if Washington is seriously interested in a settlement of the dangerous situation in the Middle East its politicians will have to come down to facts. A beginning would be the discontinuation of arms and money for Tel Aviv. This would be an initial important step. The U.S. special envoy for the Middle East, Habib, will now arrive in the Middle East again and will certainly also have talks with Israel's Government chief Begin. There are already doubts in the Arab capitals as to whether Habib will face the Israeli Government with the necessary consistency, because they know about Washington's halfheartedness.

HONECKER ADDRESSES TOWN ELECTION MEETING

LD102129 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1553 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt, 10 Jun (ADN)--This afternoon 200,000 residents of Karl-Marx-Stadt attended a meeting in the town center with their leading candidate, Erich Honecker, who received a rapturous reception.

Erich Honecker told them: "I thank you warmly for your welcome at this wonderful election meeting. It is dominated by next Sunday's elections to the People's Chamber and the Bezirk Assemblies. We all know that this is not just a matter of form, as in bourgeois society, where promises made before the elections are not kept afterwards. Actually, they need no elections because others afterwards determine the course of action and deputies no longer remember their election promises." "You have thoroughly scrutinized your candidates," he said to cheers. "They come from your ranks. They will implement the policy outlined in the GDR National Front election manifesto, which is in the interest of the working class and of the people as a whole. Thus, it is important that on Sunday all citizens who have the franchise vote for the National Front candidates in order to chart the way for the next 5 years."

"This way is quite clear for us. It was worked out at the 10th SED Congress and has been set out concisely in the GDR National Front election manifesto. It is socialism and peace--let me emphasize that at this impressive meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt, this working class center. The well-being of the working class and of the people is the measure of all things for us. In the National Front election manifesto we set out our aims, a splendid and exacting program. The work done in the last 5 years ensures that it is realistic. In spite of the crisis in the capitalist world, we in the German Democratic Republic continue to set a clear course for the stable and dynamic growth of our economy in order to secure the implemention of our social policy program."

"We all know that these facts cannot be taken for granted in today's world. They are characteristic of actual socialism. In the course of massive rearmament in the capitalist centers, which only aggravates the crisis of that system, social service cuts are proceeding apace. The ruling circles only argue about where the biggest cuts can be made in favor of profits and arms deals. Cuts are only being made in social services. They talk a good deal about mass unemployment but do nothing about it. They talk a good deal about poor vocational training, especially for the young, but do not propose to remedy this. They talk a good deal about inflation but do nothing to fight it because that would mean touching the profits of the rich. That, dear citizens of Karl-Marx-Stadt, as you can see from the statements made by the ruling circles in the world that calls itself free, is not painting a black picture; it is simply a fact, a terrifying fact."

"We can be glad that we have left all that behind, that we belong to the community of socialist countries of which the core is the USSR, with which we are inseparably linked. As our proposals for arms control and disarmament show, we favor cutting arms spending, not social services. That is in line with the character of our state as a worker-peasant state. It is in line with the advantages of socialist society over capitalism."

In this context Erich Honecker recapitulated major successes in the GDR's development from 1976 to 1980. All classes and strata, regardless of sex or age, philosophy or religion, have shared in them. This path will be pursued resolutely. It had resulted in a 32.2 percent industrial output increase over the preceding 5-year period. In this period agriculture produced 239 million tons of foodstuffs and raw materials.

In spite of questions still to be solved, the GDR had advanced in social policy terms on an undreamed of scale. From 1973 to 1980, 813,000 dwellings were built or modernized. All these things show the meaning of the unity of economic and social policy.

He referred to the great changes wrought in Karl-Marx-Stadt since 1976. Exemplified by the "Fritz Heckert" housing estate with its 55,000 inhabitants and the beauty of the rebuilt Bruehli Palace. Although the housing problem must be solved, particularly by building new dwellings and modernizing the old housing stock, the citizens could be proud of their workers, their builders. He went on: "We consider the interests of all classes and strata of the people, the interests of young and old, of women and particularly of working mothers. We are taking account of them in a balanced fashion in line with our economic possibilities. Everybody shares in improved living standards. The prerequisites for them are being jointly created. We want to work together in the years ahead so that we can go on in the same way."

As the discussion of the 1981-85 5-year plan in Karl-Marx-Stadt area shows, the people in the GDR are working out the plan. Thanks to our modern economic structure and the initiative of the working people, it is being purposefully implemented. Mass competitions play a crucial part. "High performance growth by rising productivity, efficiency and quality--everything for the well-being of the people and for peace"--every word of this slogan highlights the main issues.

Speaking of the 11th FDJ Parliament, Erich Honecker expressed his pleasure that the party and state could rely in their programs on the enthusiasm and expertise of the young, their deep attachment to our socialist fatherland, the GDR. "We have a fine young generation," he said to stormy applause, cheers and chanting. "It is the bold and vigorous coarchitect of our socialist present and communist future. The new, Socialist Germany of which our fathers dreamed and for which they fought is rising in the GDR, the work of many generations."

"Looking at today's world, we see that, in spite of some shadows cast on its development, the wheel of history is going forward. It is turning in favor of socialism, the national and social liberation of the peoples, their independence, and the anti-imperialist struggle. The machinations of those who cling to the social past are of no avail.

"It is shown time and again that the growing strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist community and their dominant influence on international events, are of fundamental importance for the major processes of our time. The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the 10th SED Congress and the congresses of the other fraternal parties are a powerful source of strength for progress. Along the socialist and communist paths our countries are successfully solving new tasks and problems of social progress. They are developing their material and cultural potential for the constant improvement of the lives of their people."

"Fully aware of our responsibility to our people, we stated at our 10th SED Congress that we shall do all we can not only to preserve but constantly to stabilize peace. That is the foremost task of our foreign policy. Only in peace can the peoples and their fortunes prosper." (sustained applause and cheers for the peace policy of party and state)

Erich Honecker recalled Hitler Germany's brigand attack on the Soviet Union almost 40 years ago. By annihilating the fascist aggressor, the glorious USSR forces saved Europe, and not only Europe. Twenty million Soviet people laid down their lives.

As the main force of the anti-Hitler coalition, the Soviet Union won that turning point in World War II that led to vicory over the brown pest. We shall never forget the feats and sacrifices of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War on behalf of the freedom of the nations. They fought so that such destruction and annihilation might never recur, that peace should be established forever. Today their legacy is more urgent and more alive than ever. The imperialist policy of confrontation, the missile policy and NATO's arms drive are creating serious dangers for the peoples. If Europe is facing a threat today, it is the implementation of the Brussels twin decisions by which NATO seeks to gain strategic superiority over the Warsaw Pact states. "Of course," Erich Honecker said to strong applause, "the socialist community countries cannot and will not idly look on. The imperialist dreams of superiority will come to nothing."

"A determined and intensified struggle is needed to secure peace for the present and future generations. At the 26th CPSU Congress Leonid Brezhnev, in the new USSR peace program submitted concrete and realistic proposals for the limitation of arms and for disarmament. The GDR fully supports them. We shall continue to contribute actively to their implementation. We are prepared to promote, and take an active part in, everything that is conducive to making peace secure. The policy of peaceful coexistence of states of different social systems has always been sensible, and is more so today than ever. There is no acceptable alternative. The irresponsible way in which the imperialist forces are gambling with peace is shown by the criminal attack of the Israeli Air Force on the capital of Iraq, the nuclear research center in Baghdad. Our party and government most sharply condemn this act of terror. It is a cynical violation of international law and reemphasizes the necessity to force Israel to evacuate all occupied Arab territories, recognize the Palestinian right to self-determination, including the right to a Palestinian state under PLO leadership, and the return of the Palestinian population to their homeland."

"The eighties must by our powerful efforts become a decade of disarmament. We must succeed in curbing the arms race, which devours billions, places huge burdens on the peoples and may lead to their physical destruction in a nuclear world war. This must not happen. The foremost task on the agenda of world politics is to add military detente to political detente. We shall not relax our efforts until that is accomplished."

Erich Honecker then quoted from one of the finest poems by Bertolt Brecht, The Peace Song, which says: "Peace at home, peace next door, peace to our peaceful neighbor, all will thrive." "Let it be so in the GDR and in the world at large," he said to renewed cheers.

In conclusion he said: "Let us vote next Sunday for the decent policy of socialism and peace, a policy for the well-being of our people. On 14 June elect the candidates of the National Front of the German Democratic Republic."

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 11TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Rakowski Speech Reported

LD102344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1920 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy premier and member of the PZPR Central Committee, at the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw on 10 June--read by announcer]

[Text] At the point of departure, that is immediately after August, as well as in the course of the next few months, we placed the origins of the Polish crisis in the erroneous economic and social policy of the 1970's, and especially in the second half of this past decade, as well as in the arrogance of the leadership then and the unbridled propaganda of success in which--until a certain time--I took part as well.

At the present plenum the object of critical remarks and the starting point for the formulation of demands, including those of a personal nature, have in fact been the intentions and the practical work of those months, that is the period during which the party policy was mapped out, is being mapped out and, as I would like to believe, will continue to be mapped out by the line of accord. I may be wrong but listening to yesterday's discussions I was not always able to perceive clearly the exact distinction between the criticism of the line of accord and the criticism of its implementation. This distinction is very subtle and it is easy to confuse. Comrade Najdowski proposed that a change in the present formula be offered for discussion, the formula of overcoming the crisis by peaceful means and with our own resources, to a new formula: that the crisis be overcome, at all costs, with our own resources; the more so because, until now, the formula of political solutions to the crisis meant renunciations and concessions for the sake of peace as exemplified by the so-called Lodz accord concluded with students.

I would like to ask whether a solution with our own resources is to be interpreted only as acting in the sphere of using political measures, or does it envisage, at some point in time, the use of force for the purpose of solving the crisis? I interpret the speech made by Comrade Najowski as an opening of the road leading to solution by force. As far as I am concerned, I of course continue to be in favor of political solutions since I have been of the opinion that the departure from such solutions leaves no way of retreat. One must not forget that our party is responsible to history and to the nation for the bloodshed in Poznan and on the Baltic coast; it is impossible, after all, that such dramatic events could take place for the third time, and if this were to happen after all, our party would not survive, not to mention the fact that we would shoulder the responsibility from which even the coming generations would not absolve us. In other words, I am constantly in favor of the implementation of the line of accord. I support only political solutions although, no doubt, they are extremely cumbersome and frequently the chances of winning a case, even in one sector, are small.

At the present plenum sharp criticism has been leveled at the party leadership. Well I have also, more than once and from the same rostrum, expressed my dissatisfaction with the party leadership, accusing it of inconsistent action, lack of determination and so on. I support these views but one cannot stop at that in the explanation of the causes of the continuing crisis.

That this crisis continued in our country for such a long time is due, above all, to the fact that for many years there was a growth in the strata of antipathy and distrust towards us. Not only gunpower was accumulating but even dynamite. We simply are still unable to believe the reality and this is why we must fight for the heart and mind of every man and woman; after all, we all know the climate of the meetings not only with Solidarity but also the meetings with members of the party. These meetings are sometimes difficult and occasionally even unpleasant.

We enter the realm of myths; one of them is the belief that everything will change for the better if only we have a clear-cut program of action. In my opinion programs nowadays have a rather limited scope and power. After all, ever since the sixth plenum we have been formulating a good many objectives--just, sensible and noble. What I am aiming at is the fact that a clear-cut program of action must be possessed by every communist, and the essence of this program must be a struggle for the hearts and minds of the working class, every single working man and woman.

In dealing with trade unions I have made contacts with local areas. This is understandable, but less understandable perhaps, is the fact that every so often I receive telephone calls from local areas that go like this: Comrade Rakowski, perhaps your committee will join in on this issue? As a rule these are conflict issues of local character. I willingly undertake such tasks but I would like to ask you, comrades, does anyone stop you from fighting against the class enemy, the rabid, radical Solidarity? Does the lack of a program of action hinder such a struggle? Does the lack of a program of action hamper the fight against anticommunist propaganda practiced in various factory newssheets? Can Comrade Olszowski influence every editorial team? After all, nobody is able to lead every journalist by the hand and force him to write what suits us. Comrade Labus asks why we treat the extremists in Solidarity in such a soft manner. I will not mention the fact that these Solidarity extremists are not so easy to identify, but my dear comrades, I ask you: Does anything stop you from fighting the extremists on your own territory, if such extremists can be found? I simply cannot see any such hindrances and I do not think that the Politburo or the government raise any obstacles in this issue.

[At this point, some of the participants express their dissatisfaction at a protest from the audience by stamping their feet] Comrades, you cannot stamp out reality by stamping your feet. You can stamp me out, but even then only for a short time--I too can stamp my feet. We can stamp our feet together; the stamping of feet, however, will solve no problems.

Much has been said here about concessions and compromises. Well, they do not come from thin air. In the situation where there is a national system of forces, political solutions, as a rule, open the way to concessions and compromises. This is how the political alphabet works. All the accords concluded in the recent months, including those that I signed, have met with varying assessments, even here in this hall. This is understandable. In general, it is difficult to imagine that in such critical days and months it will be possible to achieve any uniformity of views. Everyone has his own point of view, but a strange practice has arisen. When danger exists--as for instance at the end of March--opinion is uniform: Do what you can as long as you find a political solution. A compromise is needed. What is more, the ninth plenum even endorsed such a formula on the need for political solutions. As soon as the threat passes, criticisms begin: Once more we have agreed to concessions; a compromise becomes concessions, interpreted further as opportunism and defeatism. This has nothing to do with the any form of morality. This is an ugly political game. I have been accused of being the one who contributed to the recognition of Rural Solidarity. I shall be frank: I was in favor of its recognition. The reason for this is the fact that I am an ardent supporter of recognizing realities. The announcement of the start of sit-in strikes throughout Poland was also a reality. If in Poland in the last 10 months it would have been possible to say no to each case which we regarded as contrary to interests of socialism, I would not have resorted to saying it very often.

But, comrades, [word indistinct] is not effective. I have also heard it said--I refer to internal party matters--that we should give some thought as to whether the congress should be postponed. In my opinion the postponement of the congress amounts to opening the road to a split within the party and to a confrontation--so there will be no misunderstanding I mean a confrontation by force. One should not envisage, either psychologically or politically, the possibility of the postponement of the congress.

A truly great process is taking place today within the party, a process of reevaluation of many notions and ideas. Taken as a whole, I am of the opinion that all this discussion, all this monstrous confusion has produced superb people. New leading teams are emerging and I think that the party will not perish if precisely these leading teams direct our party in the coming months and years. The most characteristic feature of the present situation is the complete change of generations, even if this is happening to the detriment of the activists of my own generation. It is tough; this is what the party's history has determined. One cannot and should not act against this process. In this connection I declare myself in favor of the congress being held at the time set. In this context I would also like to speak about personnel changes in the party leadership; personnel changes in the Politburo and the leadership team which, at the ninth plenum, in this hall, received a vote of confidence from the Central Committee. In my opinion, such personnel changes in the Politburo no longer bring good.

And in conclusion, the matter of the letter from the Soviet Comrades: I think that its appraisal presented in the report of the Politburo is just. The Soviet comrades are entitled to address such critical remarks to us. It is our international duty to study these remarks carefully and draw from them conclusions which will take into account our specific national circumstances, our true political situation.

Further on Ney Remarks

LD110334 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1920 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Remarks made by Roman Ney, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, during the 10 June session of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw--read by announcer]

[Text] The present plenum is being held in an atmosphere of great tension, both among the public and in this hall. The situation is very serious; but in my view, it still contains a way out which is constructive for the country and which at the same time strengthens the socialist camp. The contents of the letter from the CPSU Central Committee are not a (?distortion). The reasons it contains are also our reasons. I am deeply convinced that if greater consistency were the hallmark of the party leadership and the government in their day-to-day work, then the situation would today be considerably more favorable.

After meetings with party organizations in large enterprises, I can see progress in the shaping of correct attitudes in the party; however, I can also hear more and more often words of criticism against the leadership for its post-August activities. One must agree with this criticism and draw conclusions from it for our work.

Today we must not proceed in a direction of putting off the congress. This would amount to the disintegration of the party and to great confusion and tragedy. We should say to the party: Ideological unity--yes! Principles--yes! But there must be a discussion regarding the methods and directions of work.

If we carried out a change in the party leadership today, it is my conviction that this would be regarded by the entire party and the public as a change forced on us by our allies. Such a change will be regarded as a turning back from socialist renewal. We must not do this. On the other hand, what we need to do is correctly form, among certain sections of the public, the truth about our political and economic relations with the Soviet Union.

The most urgent tasks in the present period--before the congress--are: Firstly, permanent work with congress delegates so that they might play an active part in preparing the congress. Secondly, a powerful extension of political work in the party--not at rallies, but in party groups and in primary party organizations. The party must be aware that it can achieve success only if it is coherent in its organization and its actions.

Energetic activites must be undertaken which are connected with the absurdities of our daily life. Quite simply, one must apply wartime methods. For example, there is a threat to the hay harvest. On the other hand, certain factories have nothing to keep them busy. There are also the matters of matches, soap, milk and so on.

We commit a certain mistake in the mining industry over and over again. Until all the reserves in the present system of work are eliminated, we shall not be able to eliminate Saturday work.

We need to be more resolute in relations with Solidarity. However, what is also necessary is to have individual members of the Politburo or a team appointed from among the Politburo members sit around a table with Solidarity. The phenomena of certain regional sections of Solidarity going over to the positions of political party are dangerous. Here our party must rise up to speak; it is not enough to have only the government do this. We must complete more quickly and present to the public price and wage reforms connected with this. The large commission will not prepare an economic reform for us. We shall not be able to complete this reform using this enormous team. The next stage must be held differently.

We must state more clearly, more fully and in an official manner our stance on matters concerning the country's security and the work of the militia and the army. We fear that our picture of the state of the militia, for instance, is not a full one. I think that things there are considerably worse than we imagine and broad political work must be undertaken.

The party must manifest cadres of good specialists who are devoted to the construction of socialism and who must be advanced and must not be afraid of young people. We lose out a lot on this.

We do not yet have a full assessment of the present report-back and election campaign. We have covered less than 1/4 of the whole report-back and election campaign. We have to keep an eye on the campaign, but let's not be as alarmist as we often are. To conclude I would like to say that there is not and can not be a turning back from the socialist renewal course which has been chosen by the party.

Further on Pustelnik Remarks

LD110344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1920 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Report on remarks made by Edward Pustelnik, member of the Central Committee and senior tool distributor at the Gryfia ship repair yard in Szczecin, during the 10 June session of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw--read by announcer]

[Text] Edward Pustelnik gave his view on the proposal for changes in the Politburo's composition which was submitted during the discussion. He stressed that at the previous plenum the resignations tendered successively by Politburo members had not been accepted. The speaker stated if the present plenum were to examine this matter again, this would be tantamount to an attempt to put off the ninth congress. The congress must take place on the date which had been agreed. Otherwise we shall lose credibility.

Referring to the contents of the letter sent by the CPSU Central Committee to the PZPR Central Committee, he recalled his own wartime activities and the blood that had been shed with the soldiers of the Soviet Army. He stressed that he fully supported the stand presented in the report delivered by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He said: I value and understand our Soviet comrades' concern about our country. I am not at all surprised that they are addressing us in this matter.

The speaker then drew attention to the exaggeration of the troubles with Solidarity. He said that we must realize that the majority of members of the Polish United Workers' Party also belong to this trade union organization.

So one must ask oneself the question: What methods of intraparty work are we applying to tone down Solidarity's aspirations that are aimed at escalating unrest? He stated that at the Szczecin ship repair yard, 99 percent of the workforce belongs to Solidarity and that there are no tendencies to lend support to adventure-seeking undertakings there. An increasingly large number of Solidarity members at our factory are beginning to view the matter soberly. This is why I think it is a mistake to underestimate the change of mood among ran-and-file members of this trade union organization, which is currently the largest.

Edward Pustelnik then said that the party leadership's lack of consistency in assessing phenomena pertaining to people was creating confusion among ran-and-file party members, was weakening the political struggle and was not promoting the strengthening of mutual trust. As an example, he pointed to the matter of the attitude towards the Confederation of Independent Poland [KNP]. He recalled: We have established and told ourselves that there are definite pieces of evidence and examples that allow one to make an unambiguous assessment that this group is anti-socialist. It now turns out that the leaders of KPN have been released. Why? What sort of position have I been put in, I who daily meet my comrades and colleagues at work? What am I supposed to say to their questions? What I mean is that the decisions which are adopted by the Politburo and by the Central Committee should have a standing which makes it possible to put one's head on the block for them. Otherwise, I shall always complain about this decision being changed without anyone seeking my opinion. We should adopt the principle that every session of the Central Committee should begin with a report by the Politburo about the progress achieved in implementing previously passed resolutions and suggestions submitted by plenum members.

The speaker demanded that the party be more aggressive in defending its rank-and-file members, around whom scandals had sometimes been deliberately hatched.

He cited as examples Albin Siwak and Warsaw television editor (Sanitowski). He said: We do not defend people who are attacked. How can we count on achieving trust? All this gives rise to my personal unease regarding what might happen tomorrow. What will the party be like? Do we know how to lead and do we capture minds and hearts? We have to fight, that stands to reason, but what is important is that we should fight using methods which will be understood and approved. Meanwhile, the leadership is not making its stand known on issues which are in contradiction to our assessments and feelings.

In conclusion, the speaker demanded that a specific draft on price changes be made public. He said that this is an operation which is vital, but the public has the right to be informed about the date and scope of this operation.

Wasilewski Speech

LD110900 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1920 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Speech by Andrzej Wasilewski, member of the PZPR Central Committee and director of the State Publishing Institute, at the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw on 10 June--read by announcer]

[Text] I am inclined to take the floor as I feel that somehow many speakers are not fully aware of the reasons for which we have met at this sudden and unplanned date. I am also inclined to do so in view of the speech made by Comrade Rakowski to whom I have listened with a complete understanding of the personal motivation of this selfless negotiator. But I could not fail to notice that Comrade Rakowski could not justify more emphatically, though maybe he was not fully aware of it, the reasons for which the Soviet comrades have sent us the letter.

Having been presented with examples of the disintegration of the state, and the inertia of its organs and its complete helplessness when confronted by this fact, we have now met in order to urgently overcome this inertia and this helplessness.

The history of our nation proves that it has reached political wisdom through great, historical disasters. Poland must be spared this path. The conditions prevailing at the end of the 20th century will not permit yet another lesson of political wisdom along this path. The history of our nation also proves that in the critical moments of our history there has never been a lack of leading groups who have been endowed with a full awareness and understanding of the situation but who at the same time were somehow struck by the inability to act. This inability was not due to some kind of inborn Polish inability to act, but to internal disruption and a multitude of competing pressure groups paralyzing one another.

Today we must know about all this right to the end in order to be able to make the correct decisions. These decisions must deal with two issues or rather with a double guarantee. They are: A guarantee for the community, that the commitment undertaken by the party will be carried out and a guarantee for the allies that their interests, interests justified in the course of the implementation of our renewal, will not be infringed upon.

Our allies, who guarantee us a great deal with regard to security and our economic life are entitled to expect from us a guarantee for their own security and their own interests. Our state must find within itself the ability to enforce in our country, through all available means, a respect for the rule of law, a rule of law for all, including those who shout the loudest about the violation of the rule of law while they themselves violate it every day, on every occasion without caring about anything.

If in 2 or 3 days we were to be inundated by a wave of anti-Soviet posters and leaflets, the state must find within itself the ability to oppose such a campaign with all available legal means that exist. We must make people realize that everything that is anti-Soviet has anti-Polish consequences. There is another principle which must be included in our guidelines of action today. It deals with the party. The party must restore its internal rule of law in its ranks in line with the precepts of the statute and of democratic centralism. The 4 weeks left before the congress are different in their historic dimension than 4 weeks of any other month. These are weeks which will determine the history of our nation, maybe even forever. We must fully exploit these weeks. I think that the Politburo ought to make a statement on the causes of the inertia and on this basis the Central Committee plenum will be able to make further decisions.

Nowak Addresses Session

LD111120 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1920 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Speech by Jozef Nowak, first secretary of the Walbrzych PZPR Voivodship committee, at the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw on 10 June--read by announcer]

[Text] I am taking part in the debate of the Central Committee plenum because I am first secretary of a voivodship committee. After virtually every plenary session there has been a period of high spirits followed by something resembling a saddle. What will it be like after this plenary session? In fact I think that the moment is truly historical. But are we going to take advantage of it?

The election and programmatic campaign has reached a stage where it is necessary to evaluate it. The situation in the country is so complex that it too demands an assessment on whether the decisions adopted so far are being badly implemented or whether the decisions were bad. The adopted line should continue to be implemented. There are no doubts in our region regarding the line. On the other hand, there are serious doubts concerning its effectiveness.

The letter from the Soviet comrades is being treated as a letter from friends perturbed by our internal situation and perturbed by the thought of whether we will get out of it ourselves or not. I think that we must get out of it ourselves.

I come from this voivodship in the western territories where the fate of whether or not it would belong to Poland was in the balance at the Potsdam Conference. I remind you that it was the chairman of the Soviet delegation at the Potsdam conference who decided on which Nysa would be Poland's border. Thanks to this Nysa, the Luzycka and Walbrzych Voivodships are in Poland.

The preponderance of people living there consist of those who fought in the armed forces on various fronts and their children. In our area different moods prevailed at various times. I shall recall the state of fear before the general strike. Now there are also different moods that approach a state of fear.

The comrades who assume that in order to defend, let us call them, the positions of the past--someone will fight against our nation--are in my opinion not only mistaken but bring fundamental damage to the nation and to the party. Our comrades ask the question: Who is ruling in this country? We say that the power has allegedly already been taken over and that there are many manifestations and that some programs have been made public. But I ask, is it not us who actually want to surrender this power? It is only the stronger ones who always count and that has been the case in the history of every nation. Only in our party lies the solution to the situation. I share the view that the comrades in the leadership should themselves state whether or not they can cope.

Now, any personnel decision a month before the congress would be interpreted in very different ways. The results of the work done by the present government should be greater and in a few days time at the meeting of the Sejm decisions are to be made concerning the merger of some ministries. Maybe they are right who say that due to the expected changes in many echelons, from amalgamations upwards, that nothing effective is in fact being done, except to protect oneself.

Siwicki Addresses Plenum

LD101914 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Report on speeches at 10 June session of the PZPR Central Committee plenum]

[Excerpt] Gen Florian Siwicki, member of the Central Committee, vice minister of national defense and chief of General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, also spoke. He pointed out the particularly dangerous phenomenon, which is becoming increasingly visible, of the growing impudence of centrifugal forces that are openly hostile to the party and to the socialist system. The speaker conveyed the profound concern of broad circles of military personnel with the fate of the country, with the position of Poland and with the security of the socialist motherland. The speaker emphasized that the guarantees of our sovereignty and independent existence lie in the alliance with the Soviet Union and in the strength of the Warsaw Pact. This is understood by the enemies of Poland and of socialism--the militarist circles in the West that are seeking to torpedo peaceful initiatives and are contributing to the arms race.

Our soldiers are filled with particular indignation by the occurrence--which fortunately is rare--of the desecration of the graves of Soviet soldiers. Polish soldiers, stressed the speaker, have never agreed and will never agree to the sullying of the memory of those who gave their lives and shed their blood for our freedom.

At the end of his speech, the speaker informed the session about the activities and initiatives launched in the Polish Army in order to consolidate its strength and to contribute at the same time to the strengthening of the combat capabilities of the alliances within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. The speaker proposed that the party define both its short-term and its long-term objectives, that it seek to reinforce discipline within its ranks and that it take the offensive in the fight against its opponents.

Warsaw Cites Further Speakers

LD101416 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] We have received from PAP an abridged version of further speeches at today's 11th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee.

First secretary of the Walbrzych Voivodship party committee, Jozef Nowak, concentrated, among other things, on the key problems of Polish-Soviet relations. He spoke about the historic role and merits of the Soviet Union in Poland's liberation from the Nazi occupation and in guaranteeing just frontiers for our reborn state.

We ought to consolidate among our allies the trust that we will succeed in taking the party and the state out of the crisis and that we will be strong enough to overcome the increased difficulties, said the next speaker, Stanislaw Opalko, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Tranow Voivodship party committee.

Party members and others expect the Politburo and the goverment to step up the effectiveness of action. Stanislaw Opalko spoke also, among other things, about the responsibility for the errors committed during the past 5 years, stating simultaneously that the reverberations of account settling have continued for too long and that we should deal more actively with resolving contemporary issues.

Jerzy Kusiak, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Poznan Voivodship party committee, analyzed the social and political situation in the party and the country. He stated, among other things, that in no case is it permissible to apply any evasions of difficult problems. We must not remain passive in the face of the activation of antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces. Jerzy Kusiak admitted that, as a body, the Central Committee has lost a great deal of confidence and it has lost a lot of credibility, among other things due to slackness in taking to task the people responsible for the present situation, as well as to the until now inadequate level of militancy.

The community, he said, is awaiting strong authorities. Such a moment has come. At times such as the present the weak will never enjoy prestige.

Tadeusz Fiszbach, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship party committee, stressed how fundamental for the present and future of the party and the country is the effective implementation of the line of agreement. From the decisions of the party Central Committee, he stated among other things, that there is today the universal expectation above all of an appreciable improvement in the effectiveness of action toward the line of agreement.

Gen Eugeniusz Molczyk, candidate Central Committee member, vice minister of national defense, and Polish Army chief training inspector, stressed, among other things, the need to fill with concrete [words indistinct] of the trust acquired by our party. We need not only a specific program of action, but also an effective implementation of the decisions made. The methods and means of action today have failed, he said, since the country has been plunged into crisis.

The party must be aware of its own worth, stated the next speaker, Jerzy Romanik, candidate Central Committee member and miner at the Siemianowice anthracite colliery. Referring to mining problems, he said that it will not be possible to resolve them promptly unless we make comprehensive organizational and technical decisions pertaining to this branch of industry. The difficulties in the mining industry result at present not only and not so much from the shortened working hours as from the inadequate provision of conditions for continuous extraction.

Henryk Szablak, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Ostroleka Voivodship party committee, dealt at length, among other things, with problems connected with the implementation of the social agreements.

While adhering to the line agreed upon, one should bear in mind that the party is a party and the trade unions must be trade unions and must not deal in politics.

The next ones to speak were Mieczyslaw Rog-Swiostek, Central Committee member and editor-in-chief of CHLOPSKA DROGA; Ryszard Bryk, candidate Central Committee member and first secretary of the Siedlce Voivodship party committee; and Florian Siwicki, Central Committee member, vice minister of national defense and chief of the Polish Army General Staff.

PAP Summarizes Speeches

LD111130 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 10 Jun (PAP)--Henryk Szablak, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PUWP Ostroleka Voivodship committee, said that at the 6th CC plenary meeting members were convincing one another how harmful was opportunism pervading the party. Listening to speeches of various leading party activists he was disgusted with the refurbished opportunism emanating from these enunciations. This opportunism is all the more harmful since it leads to the disintegration of the party and renders the party line shaky and twisted. Therefore, beside other motives, it is also that one which convinces me that changes in the Political Bureau are both indispensable and advisable, said Szablak.

There are justified misgivings today as to who is manipulating what. It is precisely this lack of unambiguity of assessments and actions, lack of unity in the party leadership that is responsible for the fact that personnel matters continue to crop us. Let us once and for all do away with that state of affairs.

Szablak continued: In his report, which I find unsatisfactory because the assessments and conceptions it contains are inadequate to the problems under review, Stanislaw Kania stated that the party with unchanging patience and consistency was pursuing the line of agreements. This is true, but I fear that the principle of agreement might turn into agreement at all cost.

Today the party is not a monolith. It is shaky marked by opportunist postures and incapable of mustering a front of the forces of reason and responsibility.

Mieczyslaw Rog-Swiostek, member of the Central Committee and editor-in-chief of CHLOPSKA DROGA, stated that the plenum must become the turning point in the party's operation.

An important matter is to expel from the party ranks open dissidents who unceremoniously subscribe to social-democratic and openly anti-socialist conceptions.

It must be unequivocally decided that party members must not participate in political strikes. The speaker also called for verification of party members immediately after the congress.

General Eugeniusz Molczyk, alternate member of the Central Committee and vice-minister of national defence, referring to the letter of the CPSU Central Committee said that he shares the concern of the authors for the fate of socialism in Poland. We have no arguments which could mitigate the assessment of the situation in the party and state contained in the letter of our Soviet friends. This shows that the criticism is justified and accurate.

Ryszard Bryk, alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of PUWP Siedlce Voivodship committee, referred to the letter of the CPSU Central Committee. He said that without friendship with the Soviet Union, without strengthening of that friendship it is hard to imagine the existence of a sovereign independent Poland. Those who today are trying to undermine the friendship with the Soviet Union betray suicidal inclinations. He proposed that the letter be published and an answer be given.

The general line adopted by the 6th plenum is correct, but the method of dialogue, in many instances, was tantamount to concessions. Bryk said that the Central Committee will be unable to reach the aims set out in the general line of agreement unless it wins broad approval of the working class and the society for its actions. This approval is still missing.

Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee and secretary of the PUWP Tarnow Vovoidship committee, said that the Soviet comrades and the remaining communist and working class parties of the socialist camp are unconvinced that our party and its leadership in the first place work properly. It must be clear what the government proposes to do to lead the state out of poverty and what the government demands from the nation. The government of Comrade Jaruzelski does not fulfill that role. The embittered society must see a clear-cut programme of action.

Tadeusz Fiszbach, alternate member of the Political Bureau and first secretary of the PUWP Gdansk Voivodship committee, said that there is no alternative to the line of social agreement. Departure from that line would be a political error of incalculable consequences.

The party, its basic organizations and numerous party members still have great strength and the will to act. Proof of that is the course of the precongress campaign.

The party members and the society expect the Central Committee substantially to step up its efficiency. The letter from the Soviet comrades confirms that fact that also our friends are expecting this with growing concern. These expectations are justified. It is only after we have answered the basic questions posed by our party and nation that we will be in the position convincingly to reply to the anxieties felt by the Soviet comrades.

A condition for achieving this aim must be the premise that the political line of the party, the line of socialist renewal is and remains intact. Broad support of the party for the Central Committee and for the leadership of the party and the state with Comrades Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski is indispensable for that line to be implemented more effectively. For the hope and also the guarantee that the line of social agreement and socialist renewal will be continued is linked with these two names in the conviction of an overwhelming majority of the nation.

If we want to avoid a split of the party and not deprive it of the ability to act which it still has we must rally round the leadership of the party and the state and not call for it to be changed. We must realize that with a month go to before the congress such a decision would be unjustified. I am against the proposal calling for changes of the leadership, said Fiszbach.

Jerzy Kusiak, alternate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PUWP Poznan Voivodship committee, said that the line of political solution of conflicts is correct. But the Political Bureau, members of the Central Committee and Comrade Kania personally share the blame for having shunned a clear-but unambiguous definition of those forces hostile to socialism which from the very beginning of the crisis had their own programme seeking the takeover of power in Poland.

The letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is neither a warning nor interference. It is expression of the internationalist duty and concern over the development of the political situation in Poland. Whoever in our party adheres to anti-Soviet positions declares himself as opponent of his own party.

Zbigniew Glowacki, alternate member of the Central Committee, said that Poland's political and economic position in the international arena has been shattered. The prestige of the party and the state authority has been frittered away and the organs of security and public order have been paralyzed. The Sejm is being terrorized by directives sent by Solidarity to the deputies' teams.

The disintegration of our political allies, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, has taken place. But perhaps worst of all is militant anti-Sovietism of the last few weeks.

Glowacki went on: The assessment of the character of the August events fails to note the organized character of that protest, of the nucleus of its leadership which started operation much earlier implementing through the masses its own political programme. Our leadership underestimated that nucleus and now is carrying out a witch hunt for mythical anti-socialist forces.

This plenary meeting must recommend radical dissolution of all groups operating informally outside the statutory structures of the parties as well as all formations founded without the agreement of party organizations. The elections held contrary to the requirements of the statute and electoral procedure should be declared invalid, said he.

Grabski Criticizes Kania

LD101600 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] At the 11th session of the Central Committee Plenum so far 16 speakers have taken the floor today. The latest was Tadeusz Grabski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee. He pointed out that the following points repeated themselves during the debate at this plenum: the motion on a vote of confidence for the Politburo and doubts if in its present composition the Politburo is capable of coping with further work before the ninth congress.

He spoke about these issues against the background of developments in the political and economic situation in the country and at the same time in connection with the contents of the letter sent to the PZPR Central Committee by the CPSU Central Committee.

Tadeusz Grabski stressed, among other things, that dangerous tendencies were increasing in our country and that the party leadership is not without blame for it.

Since the social contract was entered into the party has not departed from the adopted line of accord and dialogue. However, a weakening of the leading role of the party has been seen in the implementation of this line. Today we are paying a high price for this. The point is that there is no lack of a correct strategy but rather that it is being implemented in an indecisive manner. We keep on agreeing to more and more concessions. The Politburo, Tadeusz Grabski said further, for some months now has not been a cohesive leadership group. Many decisions are made outside the Politburo, such as the matter of making Rural Solidarity legal. The speaker also pointed out the examples of cases which he, as a Politburo member, did not know about. Stressing the responsibility of the party for its fate and for the fate of the whole nation, the speaker emphasized that it was a major error of the leadership to act in line with a falsely understood loyalty.

Tadeusz Grabski stated that the Politburo in its present composition and under the leadership of Stanislaw Kania is incapable of extricating the country out of the crisis.

Further on Grabski Remarks

LD110020 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, said: I want to stress that I fully agree with the assessments contained in the letter of the Soviet comrades which deal with the growth of dangerous tendencies in the country. In the second place, I want to stress that correctness of the sharp criticism directed at the party leadership for allowing the situation to deteriorate; and, thirdly, I want to stress that the reasons for the crisis which is continuing in the party and the state should be seen in the leadership itself.

In listening to the speeches that have been made, I do not understand the dilemma about which many have been speaking, that is, does the party and its leadership support the line of the sixth plenu, the line of agreement and dialogue? It is quite obvious that there can be no retreat from the gains of August. This is the sole acceptable line and way of implementing the leading role of our party.

However, there is the alternative question--and I stress this forcefully--as to whether everything that is taking place in the country under the guise of renewal can be considered to be in accordance with the state interests of Poland. Or does all this mean that we are putting up with and passively accepting a gradual advance along a well thoughout path to the overthrow of socialism, the elimination of the PZPR, and, as a result, a loss of our independence and sovereignty?

So, I consider that we are paying dearly today and that we are taking upon ourselves an enormous risk not because we have not drafted the correct political strategy following the sixth plenum but because we have not consistently implemented it: because we are going from one concession after another, concessions which are not always justified. The blame for this is borne to a considerable extent--though not solely--by the party leadership, including, above all, the Politburo and myself personally.

For several months now the Politburo has not been a consolidated and unified steering organ. Too many decisions are being taken outside the Politburo or indeed contrary to its viewpoint. Although a member of the Politburo, I have found out only from press reports or radio and television news about such notable decisions as the conclusion of an agreement with the students or about the Bydgoszcz events. The decisions for the release from detention of the leadership of the Confederation of Independent Poland were taken outside the Politburo.

On 3 June we read in several newspapers that the Politburo had condemned the Katowice Forum. I state in the most responsible way that the Politburo did not take such a position. The question of the Katowice Forum was not considered at a meeting of the Politburo.

I speak of all this in a situation of excessively great responsibility for the party and the fate of the people. I am speaking also because in the course of the talks, which have been held for 5 weeks now by members of the commission set up at the ninth plenum with former members of the leadership, we are appraising at the present time only one mistake by them which is being placed at the forefront: the fact that they were guided by an erroneously understood loyalty. Therefore in the light of the situation which has come about in the party and the danger threatening our people I want to answer the question of whether the members of the Politburo are capable of leading the country out of its political crisis.

I do not see such a possibility in its present composition under the leadership of Comrade Stanislaw Kania, the first secretary.

Member Proposes Kania Respond

LD101804 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Member of the Central Committee and under secretary of state in the office of the Council of Ministers, Zygmunt Rybicki, has submitted a proposal [at the PZPR Central Committee plenum] to the effect that a break in the debate be announced so that the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee may adopt a stance on the issues tackled by Tadeusz Grabski. He saw the situation as an extraordinary one and for that reason, in his opinion, extraordimary measures are essential, since the key question is not who personally will be at the congress but what their orientation at it will be.

Votes of Confidence Proposed

LD101836 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] In the break of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum a Politburo session was held. Then plenary deliberations were resumed. The results of the Politburo session were presented by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee.

He said that, in accordance with the suggestions made in the plenum, the Politburo has decided to put to the Central Committee a proposal to hold a vote of confidence or, rather, to vote on confirmation of individual Politburo members, on the assumption that if someone fails to gain at least 50 percent of the votes he will no longer keep his post in the Politburo. Stanislaw Kania made an appeal that the meeting take into consideration during the vote all the circumstances of the debate which has taken place to date at the plenum.

A long and lively debate started on the above proposal and various other formal suggestions have been presented as well as counterpropsals concerning the manner of voting and the procedure. The historic responsibility for the decisions which could possibly be taken is stressed, and views expressing confidence in Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski are crystalizing. The views also expressed the need for united, decisive and collective action by the party leadership.

Antoni Wrobel was among those speaking on the above matters. On behalf of his party organization in Petrochemia in Plock, to which Stanislaw Kania belongs, he expressed the full confidence of his fellow comrades in the first secretary of the Central Committee. Members of the central party bodies in army uniforms also express full confidence and appreciation for Stanislaw Kania and Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. It is stressed in unison [zgodnie] that when all decisions or evaluations are made people must bear in mind the supreme interests--the interests of socialism and the party, Poland's raison d'etat and the need to maintain the agreements universally approved by the community and the line of dialogue.

During the debate on Stanislaw Kania's proposal the representatives of the voivodship party organizations, including the first secretaries of the party voivodship committees and activists from party organizations in work enterprises, pointed out the need to consider the voice and the opinion of the party masses in these so enormously important matters.

Personnel matters are not important today, especially since there is only 1 month left until the Ninth PZPR Congress. Next, a break in the session was called. At the proposal of the first secretaries of the party voivodship organizations a meeting with Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee has been called. This meeting is still in progress.

Vote on Politburo Composition

LD102124 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 2000 GMT 10 Jun 81

[By correspondent Mika Larsson]

[Summary] Party leader Stanislaw Kania proposed an immediate vote of confidence earlier in this meeting of the PZPR Central Committee after which the session recessed to consider the proposal. A few hours earlier Tadeusz Grabski had attacked Kania personally. Under Kania's leadership the Politburo is incapable of leading the country out of the crisis, he said.

"Just before 2200 this evening the meeting turned once again. The majority of the country's regional party leaders put forward the demand that no changes should be made in the composition of the Politburo before the extraordinary congress to be held in just over a month. After that intervention the matter was decided.

With 50 votes to 17, and the remainder abstaining, the plenum decided to pass all matters concerning personalities to the extraordinary congress."

Confidence Vote Rejected

LD102022 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpt] The Central Committee plenary deliberations were resumed [after a break]. Stanislaw Kania submitted the proposal to the effect that the Central Committee decide in a vote whether it accepts the previously submitted proposal of the Central Committee Politburo on giving the Politburo a vote of confidence. In a vote the PZPR Central Committee decided by a majority vote to reject this proposal.

Kania 'Victory'

NC110852 Paris AFP in English 0845 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 11 Jun (AFP)--The Polish Communist Party Central Committee Plenum just ended was a victory for the liberal element.

The proponents of continued "renewal" in the party managed to beat back the strong Moscow-backed efforts of the hardliners to dump First Secretary Stanislaw Kania and Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The ruling team took the Central Committee with it in defeating what amounted to a motion of no-confidence from the conservatives by 89 votes to 24 with five absententions.

Further on Albin Siwak Remarks

LD110650 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1920 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Remarks made by Albin Siwak, candidate member of the Central Committee and team leader of builders from the municipal construction combine Warsaw Wschod, during the 10 June session of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw--read by announcer]

[Text] While Solidarity was being created, the leadership of our party believed that party members should join. As a result, about 800-900,000--if official statistics are to be believed--joined the new union. During the Eighth Central Committee Plenum proposals were also made that party members should define which side they stand on and make a choice, the party or Solidarity. The following situation is currently present in a large part of organizations: Solidarity is carrying out elections in our party, wherever and however it pleases. I think there need be no fear at all that new people with Leninist views are being elected. But the facts point to other changes: Members of Solidarity are entering with a definite aim in mind; they are (?damaging) the so-called bloc when they vote.

More than 30 percent of the congress delegates are members of Solidarity. Barely 22 percent are workers. At many meetings I have been asked: What percentage of the delegates are Solidarity members? And this question has generally been asked by workers. When I asked them what they needed this information for, they answered: We will wait until the congress. After the congress, we will hand in our party cards because this will not be the same party that we joined. Here we might have the end of a workers' party in practice. I mean the party will still be there, but it will be without workers.

It is very bad that to date we have been unable--and it looks as if things will not change--to carry out a verification in the party. If we had tackled this matter earlier, when there were such demands--and on a mass scale at that--then we would not have so many problems today.

The letter of the CPSU Central Committee says: Comrades in Poland, tidy things up quickly and pull yourselves together while you still can.

They are right. We shall have to tidy up, quickly and with our own hands. If things were tidied up with someone else's hands, the party would not be able to exist for a long time in this country. It would quite simply not have the right to exist in society.

The 11th Plenum of the Central Committee is a plenum of the last chance. It cannot be concluded without clearly and accurately defined resolutions being adopted. These resolutions must be made with iron hands which are put into action; they must not lie around on the office desks of comrades who are responsible for their implementation. This must be done by resolute people, people who can make manly decisions in accordance with the will of the party and in the interests of the Poles.

While healthy forces still exist in the party, the comrades of the Politburo should decide that they are going to solve the problems which have accumulated through their own fault; or, they should decide that they do not have enough strength or strong will to lead the party in such complex conditions and then tell the whole party. If this is done, the enemies of the fatherland might not be allowed to destroy what remains of our foundations. For example, one must erect a barrier against the hostile propaganda which is made in the country, but which is inspired abroad. The wave of posters and pamphlets must be stopped. A law exists as does a prosecutor; and it is his duty to implement this law.

There are proposals that the organs of public order must be supported and that the Central Committee will do this. I ask how this is to be done if one agrees to the release of KNP (Confederation of Independent Poland) members or other criminals. It must be stated unambiguously that it is the duty of public order organs to introduce order and law. They must be supported not only by the Central Committee but above all by the public, because soon it will quite simply not be possible to leave one's house without fear.

I wish to touch on yet another matter which refers to the cleansing of our party of people who ought not to be in it. There is a method of cannibalism or even of castrating the party in this cleansing, because no one with any sense ought to act this way, as is often the case in our country. The sweeping began with a new broom going under the name of "democracy." But when a good housewife sweeps, she looks at the fllor so as not to sweep out what is valuable with the dirt. In our country things are often different. Party activists are put under suspicion not for what they did and how they did it--how they represented their organization--but for the simple reason that they were around in the previous period. This is a fundamental mistake. This action helps the enemy to completely break up our party.

I wish to propose a motion concerning Comrade Werblan and his destructive work in the party. At a time when we lack consolidation in the party, Comrade Werblan, who has done nothing in all the time that he has been in the Central Committee and Politburo, suddenly catches the wind in his sails and sails out as a man of renewal in the party. This is why I propose the motion today--at the insistence of many organizations in Warsaw and the country--that Comrade Werblan be excluded from the party ranks.

Werblan Ouster Motion Rejected

LD102032 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Here is the latest news from the session of the 11th Plenum of the party Central Committee. The plenum voted, as the next item on the agenda [following the vote on the vote of confidence], on the motion submitted by Albin Siwak concerning the removal of Andrzej Werblan from the Central Committee. The plenum voted to reject the motion.

Let us remind you that previously, by a majority vote, the plenum rejected the motion to hold a vote of confidence in the Politburo of the party Central Committee.

Barcikowski Offers Resignation

LD101644 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Excerpts] At the 11th Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw today, 18 speakers have taken the floor so far. Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, stressed that at today's sessions, historic decisions of enormous significance are being made. Kazimierz Barcikowski stressed that he shares with conviction the theses of the report read at the 11th plenum by Stanislaw Kania. The theses outlined in that report are the best political line for Poland and the party. This is not the line of capitulation but the line of struggle undertaken by the party in the name of the security of socialist (?Poland). We must put all our strength into creating conditions for the implementation of that line. The strength of our party, Kazimierz Barcikowski said, lies in unity. It is necessary to broaden in our community, in particular among the intelligentsia, understanding of its joint responsibility with the party for the fate of the party and the nation. It is necessary to put an end to empty gestures and irresponsibility. The party needs active support very badly. The party is appealing fervently to everyone to be guided by the highest reason--the reason of the state.

Referring to the discussion, Kazimierz Barcikowski recalled the repeated criticism of the Politburo. He said that the strength of the Politburo is made of the strength of the whole party. The situation in the regions, for instance, indicates shortcomings in the work of the voivodship PZPR committees which are attempting to push their weaknesses into the party leadership. There must be responsibility at every level and in proportion to each level. Kazimierz Barcikowski spoke about the need for the strong party support for the activities of the government, which is functioning under conditions of known economic limitations. Successive changes in the government at frequent intervals will not help here.

Summing up, he expressed his readiness to resign from the position of Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee.

He also expressed surprise that Tadeusz Grabski is claiming ignorance of matters (?with which he deals regarding) the tasks allocated to him in the Politburo.

Jaruzelski Speech

LD111020 Warsaw Domestic in Russian 0632 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the 10 June session of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] The deep and all-embracing crisis has reached a critical stage. Speaking in general terms, it emerges from the Politburo report and the discussions that the most important and most urgent tasks are:

Saving the party, its Marxist-Leninist character, its strength and cohesion;

Stabilizing the state at all levels and in all its functional links;

Recovery, and implementing radical reform in the economy with the immediate aim of making the people's everyday life easier;

Restoring the trust of our allies and friends and also confirming the trust in us held by all our international economic partners.

All of this is exceptionally difficult, absolutely necessary, but all the same, feasible. Our people, the patriotic forces, our party and people's power are capable of making this an heroic effort under the current conditions. In order to carry out that effort, the acute need for this effort has to penetrate the hearts and minds, shake them, touch them profoundly and sound as a signal of the final chance.

This will be possible if the credibility of the line of agreement is maintained, and, strictly speaking, consistency in the striving for public trust, for genuine links with the working people, with the millions of trade unionists, with the people.

However, in order for that line to bring the expected results and become the foundation for renewal in the socialist understanding, a dam has to be erected to bar the way to extremist forces, forces stopping at nothing, paralyzing the normal functioning of authority, striving to seize power--that is, effectively striving for an antisocialist upheaval.

Such is the deep deteriorating reality; such is its latent, creeping course; thus also is its demonstrative, instigative form.

Authority cannot coexist with these phenomena anymore. The boundaries of the supreme interests and the stability of the state must be restored and maintained.

In this dramatic moment of our history, authority has the right to expect from society, from the responsible forces of Solidarity, understanding and support for the platform of loyal, constructive cooperation contained within the appropriate framework.

For its part, the party and people's power should tirelessly perfect the content and form of its functioning, overcome passivity, shortsightedness and bureaucratic stratification. We should never forget that egocentric, free-and-easy conduct at variance with Lenin's norm of behavior, have created the gap between the so-called upper and lower levels, between authority and the people--a gap into which the enemy of socialism has penetrated and sharply increased.

A new style of work is being introduced today. However, it needs to be more highly efficient. This is possible only in conditions of the correct understanding and consistent observation of the principles of democratic centralism.

The deep self-criticism of our party and the democratization of the many forms of exercising power have been assessed by our opponents as a suitable occasion for weakening it and for exerting pressure on its representatives. We noticed this, apparently, too late. Many good and selfless people running various sections of the life of our party, administration and national economy have been subjected to or are being subjected to psychological blackmail and are under the pressure of continuous demands, claims and crude attacks. This cannot continue like this. Every honest representative of power who is conscientiously carrying out in a principled manner his party or professional duty must find an effective defense and reliable support. At the present time this support must be given to the particularly important link of the socialist state, the "front line" apparatus, the Citizens' Militia. The whole public is coming to see more and more clearly the need for this. The irresponsible calling into question of official statistics on an increase in crime will not succeed in covering up phenomena which are visible daily with the "unaided eye," of anarchy and unruliness. This is directed against public order but above all it is directed against the calm and feeling of safety of every citizen. It is the duty of the authorities to guarantee this calm. It is the duty of society to support these steps and it should suitably value and respect the difficult work of the militia.

I cannot fail to say a few words about the army, about my comrades in arms. The Armed Forces are painfully experiencing the deep crisis which our country, people and its leading force, the party, are going through. The personnel and all servicemen have a lively interest in the situation and are drawing conclusions and are undertaking professional and party initiatives. However, above all else they are expressing their patriotic and civic concern in solid service, in taking part in active training work, in various work and in assistance to the national economy, and in good showings of discipline.

All this makes it possible for me to tell the Central Committee that the Polish National Army, in carrying out the will of the party and people's power, has been, is and will be equal to the demand for an independent and socialist existence for the people. The continuing affronts and also other unpleasant things which affect first and foremost the personnel and their families cannot disturb the sense of this duty. But this requires a resolute statement to be made that unfriendly hands keep as far away as possible from the army. The honor of the uniform requires that it be given the appropriate respect.

We cannot condone and we resolutely condemn things of an anti-Soviet nature such as inscriptions and pamphlets, brochures and posters, the desecration of monuments, and finally various kinds of incidents, demands and insults [zniewaga] towards soldiers of the Soviet Northern Group of Forces. Unfortunately, one can observe many facts of this kind and they are becoming more frequent. Documented evidence points to this. All this gives rise to indignation and is directed against our elementary, political and moral interests. Whipping up anti-Soviet emotions is a highly harmful occupation. Those guilty of this and who inspired this are being brought to account. Prosecuting them according to the law must be energetic and decisive.

In the light of these incidents one must share all the more the concern expressed in the letter from the CPSU Central Committee. This concern is particularly well founded in the present international situation. The atmosphere is thickening. The disarmament talks are deadlocked. The initiatives of the Soviet Union and of the socialist countries are not falling on rich ground. The rate and scale of arms which have been dictated by the imperialist military-industrial complexes are growing. Conflicts or hotbeds of conflicts are appearing on various continents. In such a situation each unstable point creates a potential threat. Poland's place in Europe and our position in the Warsaw Pact determine the special level of national and international conditionalities [obuslovlennost]. And this is why what is going on in our country, the destabilization in Poland, threatens to upset the balance on a considerably greater scale. One cannot be a bystander in this part of Europe.

It is not by accident that the letter lays such emphasis on the matter of the borders of our state and its independence. After all, these borders are guaranteed for a specific, socialist, friendly Poland. It is simply astounding that understanding this gets through with some eifficulty to many of our compatriots who react so sensitively to the matter of the inviolability of borders and independence. It is surprising that despite so many explanations and obvious pieces of evidence the vitally important meaning, which is so invaluable for Poland, of cooperation and Soviet economic assistance is not always assessed in a suitable manner.

We openly told the people the bitter truth about the state of the economy. We repeatedly warned, including at the 10th plenum, that the situation could worsen further in the coming months. At the same time we recognize the huge, justified pressure of expectations for better, tangible solutions.

What accounts for these and not other often criticized tempos of working by the government? There are subjective and objective reasons here.

The undoubted shortcomings in the functioning of action, reaction and the capacity to look ahead can be put in the first category. Blame for this lies with the state and economic administration, including the Council of Ministers.

The objective reasons include: First, the exceptionally difficult working conditions in which to lead cadres today and the constant pressure--which did not formerly exist on such a scale--of current and certainly not only economic problems which dilute efforts.

The multitude of urgent requirements, various demands and proposals forces the government to undertake emergency measures. This is far from being the basic task of the center of state and economic control. Often this has a depressing effect on cadres and arouses a mood of bitterness and disappointment.

Second, it is exceptionally difficult to formulate plans and targets in a situation in which it is still not completely clear what the economy, in fact, has available to it and what it can count on. For example, to date it is still difficult to make a final assessment of what the national level of production of raw and other materials will be this year, primarily coal, or what the final result will be of talks with private banks on the issue of postponing repayment of a part of our debts in the current year.

Third, there is the necessity, I would say, to fight on two fronts--that is, for parallel work on solutions for both the short and long terms, including, primarily, a large complex of measures for economic reform.

Work on this reform has already progressed a long way; there is no time and place to examine it in detail. I am only pointing to what is most urgent. The damage caused in the recent past by voluntarism and haste is well known. Moreover, such large-scale measures as the reform must be undertaken on the basis of deep analysis and research, public discussion and endorsement--all the more so since in our conditions the reform will also, in accordance with its concepts, be a fundamental, exceptionally complicated treatment for a gravely sick economy.

Strictly following this course after a wide and creative discussion about the draft general principles, the Commission on Economic Reform has begun summing up its results. At the same time the commission's groups have already almost completed their work on separate, concrete problems connected with the reform, such as: the principles and system of planning, economic and financial mechanisms; the organization and system of foreign trade and domestic trade, supply turnover and capital investments; the functions and principles of banking activity and economic arbitration, supplies to the public, working arrangements and means of motivation.

This is a great achievement of Polish socioeconomic science based on rich fraternal experience. Today we already have not only a general perspective of the future, but also concrete elements of the reform. The foundation exists for working out concrete plans of implementation for separate sectors and branches of the national economy in the second half of this year.

In the past months the commission and government have paid much attention to urgent work, thus creating the primary conditions for the reform and accumulating experience in the field of organization. I remind you that on 1 July this year the principles of the economic reform will enter into force in small-scale production as will other new financial economic principles for the operation of state farms.

The government, as the evening papers reported, has sent two bills to the Sejm about which the public has been previously widely consulted and which are of fundamental importance to the economic reform: on self-management of working collectives in enterprises; and on state enterprises. At the same time a package of bills has been sent to the Sejm which form a whole and change the organizational structure and functions of many main and central bodies of the state administration in the economic field in accordance with the precepts of the reform. This will enable us to begin creating qualitatively new relations between government departments and enterprises. A general reform of prices is being drawn up. In the sphere of supply prices the preparations which have already been embarked upon are designed to allow it to be introduced from the beginning of 1982.

An immediate and comprehensive reform of retail prices is especially necessary. On the basis of scientific studies there are already being formulated drafts of appropriate provisions defining the scale of the reform, the stages of its implementation and systems of compensation. There will be consultations with the public on their proportions.

The question of increasing the price of coal, as well as prices for bread, flour and starchy foods require the most immediate solution. The drafting, consultations and agreement and, finally, the speedy implementation of these solutions will be a means of gaining experience. This is essential, in particular so as to prepare as well as possible the major operation of changing prices.

I would recall yet another important and urgent requirement: the fuller utilization of existing production potential. Particularly at present we cannot allow ourselves to be in a situation in which this potential, created and modernized at the cost of such great effort, works only 5 days a week. This leads to too large a deficit in output, particularly in the raw materials industry upon which the economic situation of the country today depends. In connection with this our income from exports has sharply decreased, and as a result so also has our potential to purchase imports of necessary raw materials, other materials and even drastically-needed market goods. The effect is that many enterprises are coming to a halt and the production of goods for the market and for export is decreasing even further. As a result, a vicious circle and a spiral of collapse is being formed.

This must be broken as quickly as possible. Working time must be extended, not for workers collectives, but for machines and equipment. Let people work for 5, but enterprises for 6 days a week. At the present time this is a key problem, a cardinal condition of halting the trend towards a slump in the economy. This primarily concerns the mining industry, the [farming] season and the food industry. Gathering the necessary extra working strength for this should not at the present time be a substantial barrier. This is an important economic and, at the same time, party task.

The problems listed above will be put before the coming session of the Sejm in expanded form.

Authority to Adopt Decision

LD102302 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 10 Jun 81

["End of the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jun (PAP)--On behalf of the motions commission its chairman, Kazimierz Barcikowski, presented the draft decision [resheniy] of the plenum of the (?PZPR Central Committee). In connection with the observations made during the discussion of the text it has been decided by means of a vote to authorize the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, after the editorial commission has introduced all the necessary amendments, to adopt a final variant of the decision.

At the conclusion of the work of the plenum the floor was taken by Stanislaw Kania.

Kania Closing Speech

LD110940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0534 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Speech by PZPR First Secretary Stanil saw Kania closing the 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw in the early hours of 11 June--read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: Hanging over the deliberations of the 11th plenum was the awareness of the exceptionally menacing political and economic situation in our country, the awareness of a very dangerous direction and the menacing rate at which it is developing.

This is a threat both to socialism and to the national existence and independence of Poland. This awareness was the reason for the great passion in our discussion which searched for the reasons for this threatening situation and looked for ways out.

Very harsh remarks were addressed to the Politburo. They matched [wspolbrzmiec] the letter from the CPSU Central Committee which, as I stated in the Politburo report, is justified in our situation. The CPSU, as the party closest to us and as the one which shoulders the supreme responsibility in the international workers movement, is entitled to such a right.

The Soviet people and the Red Army brought us freedom. We have received assistance from the Soviet Union during the entire period of socialist construction. We must be particularly grateful for this today when we are going through such great difficulties. It is precisely when you are in need that you discover who your friends are.

I also wish to stress the fact that we have been met with understanding by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. We greatly value this understanding for our line adopted at the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, although at the same time it was accompanied by unease as regards the increasing threats to the socialist development of Poland which are created by anarchy and by counterrevolutionary forces.

None of the members of the Politburo, above all I myself, have the right to be surprised at the sharpness of the utterances made during today's discussions and at questions being raised as to our ability to lead the party onto a road of finding a way out of the crisis.

I am aware that some comrades have brought proposals for changes in the composition of the Politburo. I interpret these remarks as directed first and foremost at myself. The role and position of the first secretary in such a collective is special, and his responsibility is also special. Throughout the discussion no one questioned the general orientation of our policy, an orientation which is defined by the term "line of socialist renewal." There was not a single voice that questioned this line. And this is the direction along which we shall proceed.

Of course, we must not run out of perseverance and passion in our search for accord and in our efforts to inspire the public's confidence in the authorities, the party, the Central Committee and the leadership. You see, there is no force to replace the importance of public confidence. We shall build the strong power and authority of the party on such confidence.

It is obvious that throughout the discussion at this plenum one fundamental conclusion emerges: that the correct line must be implemented by using more effective methods and through more resolute but also wise activity. This activity must be tailored to the threat and to the situation. The fronts of this activity were defined in the resolution, enshrined in a document, which sums up the achievements of our plenum. These tasks were contained in the report of the Politburo.

What is the most important thing? What must we concentrate on? The fundamental issue is the party and everything connected with the precongress and report and election campaign. Nothing must fail here because then irretrievable losses could arise. This awareness must weigh on the attitude of every delegate to conferences at all levels.

Voivodship party conferences are in progress. The appeal that concern for the renewal of the party authorities at all levels should be accompanied by understanding for the need to retain continuity in leading the party echelons must get through to all members of the party and to the delegates. Hence we have appealed that tested party activists should be elected, that formal criteria--which under various guises eliminate the most valuable people only because of the fact that they have served two terms of office in the party authorities--should be abandoned.

It would be a great loss if this line were accepted as a general line.

We must also bear in mind the concern to elect representatives to the congress, including representatives of the central leadership. This stems not from our ambitions but from the needs of the party and building its strength.

We must oppose the creation of artificial obstacles which make it impossible for activists of the central level to be nominated. At voivodship conferences the comrades who are standing to be elected as delegates to the congress should be assessed on their activity at central level, as members of the Politburo, as secretaries of the Central Committee or as members of the Central Committee, and not merely as members of a particular party organization. This is an essential condition for maintaining the continuity of leadership. This stems, and I deeply believe this, from the needs of the party.

We should be interested in ensuring that present members of the Politburo and of the Central Committee Secretariat take part in the congress as delegates. I shall be agitating in support of this as much as I can. Let the congress assess and verify them.

There are only 33 days left before the congress. This is a very short time. All these days must be filled with very energetic activity. The composition of the delegates to the congress will be decided during these days. Documents must be drawn up which have been coordinated with all delegates. We want the congress to be prepared by delegates together with the Central Committee. No one has the right to deprive the delegates of this important and responsible function of theirs.

The undertaking of various discipline-forming activities against everything which breaks up party discipline and which weakens our party must be a constituent part of building the strength of the party and preparing it for the congress which--and I stress this with the utmost emphasis--must be a successful congress. And there are many examples of this which were mentioned from the plenum rostrum.

Our echelons, the Central Committee and voivodship, parish, urban and factory committees, must act resolutely here. They must react decisively to violations of principles of party adherence. And this is taking place, as has been stressed from this rostrum, both in the ideological sphere and also because the principles of democratic centralism are being violated. In both cases the reaction must be unequivocal.

This is the first group of methods, the first group of activities, connected with preparations for the congress and with the need to restore the cohesion of our party. The second line of activities is connected with the need to undertake a more decisive offensive against various kinds of activities directed against socialism, above all in the political and ideological sphere. We shall combat any anti-Soviet actions with total consistency.

An exceptionally important role, as has been stressed, is played here by the mass media. In the editorial offices we have a large cadre potential for party members but also many grounds for harsh, very harsh, criticism. We expressed this criticism in the report. The comrades taking part in the discussion added sharpness to this criticism. Everything has been said in this matter and I do not think that any additional evaluations are needed here.

It is obvious that we shall not win the struggle for social awareness and that we shall not gain full support for our program if this peculiar excitement is maintained in the mass media and if they expose above anything else negative phenomena which heighten emotions and which give rise to ill-will toward the authorities.

We expect an offensive to be launched in the press, radio and television against all hostile actions and also against those many negative phenomena which abound in our life. I would even go so far as to say that there are very many of these.

The group of problems connected with observance of the law and with social discipline is immeasurably important. A reaction is needed to the indeed numerous actions directed against the state which are inspired in particular by the extreme and extremist wing of Solidarity. We are also having to contend with many such facts, which are disastrous as regards their political consequences, among students at certain educational establishments. The need for offensive activities is obvious in this situation. These must be undertaken as from today. Everything must be done to ensure that a favorable climate is created around the Citizens' Militia, the security services, the prosecutor's office and all the bodies which are assigned to this work. This is a fundamental and important task.

We should strengthen with all our might the authority of the organs of public order and security.

We come to the next important matter, concerning our relations with the trade union movement. We must give more effective support to and have more cordial concern for the Industrial Branch Trade Unions. To be brief, let us create a climate for the development and strengthening of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions.

Our attitude to Solidarity has been expressed on more than one occasion. What is important are not simply intentions. What is important here is the reaction to what is negative and harmful in it. The manipulation of Solidarity by forces which are alien to the workers' movement arouses our great concern.

The exploitation of Solidarity as a pressure force, a destructive force directed against the state and recently against the party also arouses concern and opposition. This is why I think that all the demands of our stance on this matter should be unambiguous, and that on the basis of this stance we should define clearly that our view on the limits of the activity as laid down in the Solidarity statute is justified. Solidarity, acting within the framework of this statute, can count on our fullest support.

It is vital to counter everything which leads to the derangement or dismantling of constitutional authorities. This also applies to our Sejm. You see, various organized resolutions and undertakings aimed at forcing the resignation of entire voivodship teams from their posts are appearing. The point is that in conditions of dissatisfaction and tensions, the question of elections to the Sejm should be the order of the day. This also applies to the more energetic defense of our leadership cadre, party and other activists. These matters were touched on today in very sharp focus.

And finally I come to another sphere of our activity, the economy. At the next Sejm session Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski will present a stand in this matter on behalf of the government. It must be acknowledged that the exploitation of our own raw material reserves is one of the most important tasks. We do not need foreign currency for this. There is no lack of working hands in Poland and there is even an excess of them in certain spheres of the economy. Initiatives must be undertaken as from now, as from tomorrow.

In this important matter, the activities of our voivodship committees, of the trade unions but also of we ourselves, the Central Committee and its departments, have not been sufficiently dynamic.

This is after all the most realistic reserve of all. We cannot let this chance slip. This applies to coal mining more than anything else. I concur fully with Comrade Jerzy Romanik that we shall not solve the problem of our mining industry by speaking from the rostrum. All of us, the Central Committee and its Politburo and the comrades from local party echelons and in links of the administration, must find the key to reaching agreement with anthracite miners and with miners who work in other extraction industries--copper, sulfur and lignite.

The congress is now very close at hand. As from tomorrow a new plan of action must come into being. Realistic dates must be set and decisions must be made and people must be appointed to be responsible for the fulfillment of those decisions. The Central Committee Secretariat will make such decisions at its session tomorrow.

We shall do everything we can to make sure that our party regains its alliance credibility with the fraternal CPSU, with the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries and with the worldwide communist movement. This is our duty, not only to the socialist community but also to our nation. Its security and its independent existence depend on this. We bear the burden of this responsibility.

When deciding on the question of a vote of confidence for the Politburo after the harsh criticism that was meted out, the comrades acknowledged that it was proper to entrust the function of the party leadership to the present composition of the Politburo. I would like to say that after this plenum, more so than previously, we are aware of the responsibility of our situation, of the threats resulting for Poland, of the threats for socialism. We are also aware of the importance of the decision which you had to make, which was expressed in this vote. We, for our part, will do everything to be equal to our tasks in these most difficult days when we shall have to be active.

I would like to appeal to the comrades, to the entire Central Committee and to the entire party and all its echelons, to our colleagues from the fraternal parties and from the trade unions, and to other organizations: May the feeling of lofty responsibility for the country, and for its fate, be maintained. May this feeling put a rein on emotion, may it serve to bring the party ranks closer together, and may it make all those who have staked on anarchy in our life think twice.

I believe that we shall get out of the crisis and that this will come about thanks to the activities and the struggle of our party and by proceeding along the path of political confrontation waged through our own efforts. This should be not only our unbreakable faith but also our awareness of the need to mobilize all forces for this cause to succeed.

We shall exhibit concern for building the authority and the strength of everything which safeguards our socialist state, in other words, both the public order organs and the armed forces of our Wojsko Polskie [Polish Army], which is an important and decisive link in the defense of our independence in the allied Warsaw Pact.

We are returning to our everyday activities with awareness of our responsibility for the development of the situation. The point is that we, seeing all the threats, through energetic activity should evoke optimism and the will to act among party members in countering what is bad in our life and restore those principles which create a better climate in social life.

And in the activity of our party may the influence of the Central Committee be normal and greater than has been the case until now in assessing the work of the Politburo.

Further on 9 June Debates

LD102330 Warsaw PAP in English 1407 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jun (PAP)--During the discussion at the 11th PUWP CC plenary meeting last night, alternate member of the CC and Minister of Foreign Trade and Shipping Ryszard Karski said that Poland's economic situation would have been "even more desperate had it not been for the cooperation with the USSR and especially its selfless assistance. At the turn of 1980 and 1981, Soviet assistance amounted to 1,200 million roubles and 1,100 million dollars in loans and, partly, unrepayable assistance. The deteriorating state of the Polish economy has broad repercussions abroad.

"Exports to capitalist countries dropped by 24 per cent between January and May 1981. The limited hard currency revenues must be assigned for the imports of food, medicines, chemical plant protection agents, spare parts and materials for industry. The only way of overcoming the obstacles to normal functioning of the national economy is by expanding exports".

Member of the CC and Director of the Institute of Economic Sciences at the Polish Academy of Sciences Jozef Pajestka said: "The drop in national income pushed us five years back. The most irritating thing is taking an extremely tragic view of the situation. If somebody believes in the tragic nature of our situation, he steeps in it. Our economic crisis is serious and political, even graver. But this is no exception on the world scale. More than one nation has overcome even more serious crises.

"I come out not for a social but for a political contract of the PUWP with Solidarity. It is our duty to conclude such an agreement with Solidarity clearly showing its place in Poland's socio-economic system. However, I attach the greatest importance to economic steps. The situation in which our authorities have found themselves almost prevents them from getting the country out of it by conventional economic methods. Special and unconventional means of mobilizing the society must be applied, irrespective of the urgency of the reform of prices".

PUWP CC member and Poland's Ambassador to the USSR Kazimierz Olszewski said: "The USSR has been pursuing a universal policy to secure peace worldwide. Our relations with the USSR are extremely advantageous. The Soviet Union wants Poland to be a trustworthy, serious, strong and loyal partner. However, it cannot accept Poland being not a socialist country. We can organize our economy and life in the way which we deem most effective. Nobody will either oppose or interfere, but we cannot commit basic errors. The world is already tired of our anarchy. Poland's crisis is only an unpleasant incident in the universal world policy which must be solved. If we do not solve this crisis by ourselves, and our friends want to believe that we can do it, a national disaster can take place and it will be difficult to recover from it. For imperialism, this incident can become an extremely advantageous element in its world game. We cannot let such a situation take place".

PUWP CC member and TRYBUNA LUDU commentator Ryszard Wojna said that "in our society, we should again start a basic discussion on relations with the USSR. We must arrest the fanned-up wave of anti-Sovietism.

"The communists can be credited with normalizing relations with the USSR on the basis of friendship, cooperation and common security. We must bring home the meaning of these words to our nation, and thus to make it aware of the abyss of madness to which our opponents are pushing us. They would like to make Poland the detonator of an explosion perhaps on a much larger scale. We simply must say in the strongest terms possible what consequences it would have to entail. Is not our society able to overpower madmen?

"It lies in our deepest national interests to keep Soviet duties towards Poland and they depend on Poland's reliable meeting of her obligations towards the USSR".

Member of the PUWP CC and the Central Commission of Party Control and electrical mechanic at the Plock petrochemical plant Antoni Wrobel said: "Since the beginning of the present crisis, the CC has adopted a course of solving it by political means. This line does not have to mean that as a party we will only defend ourselves and give up under the danger of new strike threats. The CC today must make decisions enabling Poland and the PUWP to get out of the most dangerous deadlock in which they have found themselves. At the same time, these decisions must be immediately put into effect.

"The society expects the government to start a decisive struggle against the spreading profiteering, to repeal the inglorious decree on pensions, to precisely determine the highest level of wages, old-age pensions and disability benefits. The society also hopes that the government will counteract the rampant lawlessness and anarchy, and improve public order and the security of citizens.

I think that our party lost any control over mass media. The most frequent way of reporting news by the press is the total criticism of everything what has been so far and the pursuit of sensation"

FURTHER ON OLSZOWSKI 4 JUNE ADDRESS TO JOURNALISTS

AU100941 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jun 81 pp 1, 2

[PAP report on speech by Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 4 June Warsaw meeting between the party leadership and representatives of the journalist community--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] OUR PRESENT MEETING IS TO ANSWER A NUMBER OF BASIC QUESTIONS.

The first question is the present development of the press, radio and television with regard to preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, which is the most important event in the party's life. That involves the question of how we present and should present the party's role in the new historical conditions as a force that leads the processes of socialist renewal.

The second question is to determine whether media and propaganda activities are adequate in helping extricate the country from its crisis, especially its economic crisis. That involves the issues of work and production, an analysis of the state of our economy and of the program for its stabilization, and the economic reform.

The third question is the efforts to influence social moods in the spirit of consolidating the trends connected with the development of socialist democracy, of restoring the importance of the principles of social justice and of developing social self-government activities, especially workers self-government activities.

The fourth question is the very important and responsible task of realizing the international links between the development of Poland's situation and the situation in the socialist community, in Europe and in the world.

The precongress campaign is now in full stride. It was officially begun by the 10th Central Committee Plenum, which set the date of the congress and submitted for party discussions the draft programmatic assumptions and changes in the party statutes. In fact, the precongress campaign began earlier, both in the case of elections and in the discussion of basic party issues.

The programmatic assumptions and proposed changes in the party statutes are the achievements of the Congress Commission, voivodship teams and many party members and organizations. They have won acclaim, while attracting criticism in many respects.

THE PROGRAMMATIC ASSUMPTIONS ARE THE STARTING POINT FOR DISCUSSIONS AND CONSTITUTE A PLANE ON WHICH THE SOCIAL PROPOSALS, SENTIMENTS, CONVICTIONS AND VIEWS OF VERY MANY PEOPLE MEET. That is why press discussions and reports on party organization debates on those drafts--especially debates concerning the enrichment of the drafts with constructive contributions by precongress teams in voivodship and plants--are important for the press, radio and television during congress preparations.

THE GREAT PROGRAMMATIC WORK CONDUCTED BY OUR PARTY IS MADE UP OF THE CLASSIC PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM ON WHICH WE DRAW WITH INVARIABLE CONSISTENCY; OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ANALYSIS OF THE COUNTRY'S SITUATION CARRIED OUT BY THE CRITICAL SECTIONS OF THE PARTY EVEN BEFORE THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS; AND OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE POLICY AND PRACTICE OF THE IDEAS OF THE SOCIAL ACCORDS FORMULATED IN THE PAST 10 MONTHS. Those three factors merge in party policy into a single uniform whole and constitute a premise for the congress' acceptance of the socialist program that is free from rightist and leftist deviations.

Here and there people claim that Polish crises are cyclical in character. Without including the events in 1968 or 1976 within the crises that are structural in character, even though certain symptoms point to such a character, it is necessary to subject to a profound analysis the crises of 1956, 1970 and 1980.

Such an analysis is not only historically important, but also has great significance for developing the party's economic and social policy. That analysis will continue.

HOWEVER, WE SHOULD NOW EMPHASIZE SOME ASPECTS OF THE STRUCTURAL REASONS FOR THE CRISES IN OUR COUNTRY. Beginning with the policy turn made by the Polish Workers' Party in the summer of 1948 and intensified in 1949, it is necessary to include among those crises primarily those deformations of our constitutional system that have never been completely eliminated; the defects of internal party democracy and general social democracy; the excesses of bureaucratic centralism in the party, state and economy; and the lack of party control over the party leadership. Despite considerable changes, neither in 1956 nor in 1971 were such deformations fully eliminated.

Being fair to large numbers of party members and many Central Committee members, let us remember that in the second half of the seventies, especially when the results of the voluntaristic concepts formulated by the first party conference about accelerated development began to appear, a critical stream continued to increase within the party.

The underlying causes of the 1980 crisis are, on the one hand, the former leadership's deviations--despite verbal declarations--from the universal principles of socialism and, on the other hand, breaking away from the people and cutting off the lines of accord with the working people.

The Politburo's Achievements

THE POST-AUGUST PARTY LEADERSHIP'S ACHIEVEMENTS INCLUDE RESTORATION OF THOSE LINES OF ACCORD AND FORMULATION OF THE POLICY OF UNDERSTANDING AND SOCIALIST RENEWAL. THE FIFTH PLENUM APPROVED OF THAT UNDERSTANDING AND THE SIXTH PLENUM APPROVED OF THAT SOCIALIST RENEWAL.

In many discussions we encounter the accusation that the Politburo has acted without a program and has been unable to keep abreast of events.

Even if we accepted some of that criticism, the fact remains that, beginning with the fifth and especially with the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, the Politburo's undoubted achievement is the policy of social understanding, which has been established as a practice of national existence and of solving social conflicts. That policy will always remain an unquestioned merit of the party leadership and an indisputable merit of the first secretary of the Central Committee.

The Politburo has also sponsored the concepts presented at the successive Central Committee plenums, including the package of civic laws such as those concerning trade unions, self-government and socialist enterprises as well as the law on control of publications and public shows.

The draft economic reform constitutes an important result of Politburo work.

The party has formulated its own doctrine to solve disputed social issues. The doctrine involves the examination and elimination of the causes of such issues and the elimination of social tensions, especially through creating and operating government-trade union arrangements for jointly discussing the problems and tensions at hand.

The joint PZPR and ZSL directives on farm policy were worked out on the initiative of the Politburo.

In the same way the PZPR and the Democratic Party adopted a document on the policy of developing service sectors and small production.

The Politburo has helped work out a concept to gradually shorten the working time.

People do not fully appreciate the fact that the Politburo is committed full-time to solving, together with the government, the current economic problems, the gravity of which has never been so acute in the past 36 years.

All those Politburo tasks are being constantly complicated by recurring tensions and threats. It will be possible to overcome such a state of tensions and threats if the forces of the party and of reason and civic responsibility are consolidated. Regardless of the correctness of some prejudices and claims, the crux of the matter is not to disapprove of the state authorities, but to improve the system of their functioning and to strengthen our state.

During the stormy internal social and economic processes we Poles need a strong state supported by all democratic trends and we need a strong and efficient government.

That does not mean that we should abandon all criticism of the authorities. Nor does it mean that there should be an unceasing psychological war to undermine the foundations of the functioning of state authorities.

We must have a legal functioning of all the institutions of public order, of courts, prosecutors and the militia. The individuals who dishonor through their activities the difficult and responsible service of the militia are removed from it, but always by legal procedures. However, the undermining of the performance of the militia as a whole is inadmissible.

The impudence of criminal elements is beginning to threaten the personal safety of our citizens. Terrorism may be just a step away from anarchy in public life.

The issue of responsibility for the situation of the state is of great significance for society. I will repeat here the idea that political deformations should involve political punishment and criminal offenses should involve criminal punishment. In order to justly evaluate both the leading members of the former team and of other people, the 10th Central Committee Plenum appointed a commission under Tadeusz Grabski, which is continuing its active work and provides the public with regular information.

The Party's Leading Role

FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF SOCIALISM IN POLAND, THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE IS THE BASIC ISSUE. THAT ROLE OF THE PARTY INVOLVES THE FORMULATION OF THE STRATEGIC LINE IMPLEMENTED BY PARTY MEMBERS IN STATE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS. THEY HELP IMPLEMENT IT BY INSPIRATION, BY CONTROL AND BY CADRE POLICY.

The issue of the party's leading role calls for new relations between the party and the allied parties--relations different from those in the past. There is no room in them for formalized political domination. We are working on a system of equal cooperation.

Another important question is the share in political life of representatives of nonparty people and believers. The share of such people in public, social and economic life and in leading posts must be increased. Up to now we have had just a small increase in the nonparty citizens' share in the bodies of power. The party card alone is not and will not be enough to entitle one to share in state and political life and in the leading structures of economic and administrative life. However, at the same time, we must in no case undermine our party's influence on the basic fields of life in the state, on the state's policy and its constitutional character.

The issue of the party's leading role raises the question of the guarantees that should provide effective barriers against the possibility of future deformations and distortions. The programmatic assumptions and the proposed changes to the party statutes provide for such effective guarantees.

The two drafts call for further definition in the course of the precongress discussion.

The issues of renewal and of the continuation of the authorities is of great importance within the context of party elections. That issue is often approached in a simplified manner. People say that this or that person from the party leadership or from the voivodship authorities is against the total replacement of those in power and sticks to his post. The rotation of the authorities continues and will continue, but it is equally important to ensure a suitable continuation of the party authorities, which should retain some of those comrades who are versed in state work at central and voivodship posts. They will be replaced in the future. We should bear in mind, however, that it would be most unfortunate for our party as the governing party if we were to replace all the central and voivodship authorities at one time.

Another guarantee for the party's correct development is offered by tightening the criteria by which people are admitted into the party as members. It is offered by efforts to strengthen the role of party organizations, to base the principles of the party's functioning primarily on social activities and to define the service role of the party apparatus.

One of the main errors that are of great significance for the present shape of the party was the quantity approach which sought to increase party ranks through a system of near-directives calling for numbers, primarily at the price of low ideological and political qualities of party candidates. When ideological life began to die out within the party, when Marxism began to become mere phraseology and not a line of action, and when the new PZPR members were simply unable to get to know the true meaning and value of Marxism-Leninism, retrogression took place. The Gierek political line was deprived of class character and in fact helped to create the situation in which the acuteness of political perception and the direction of developing party members' class consciousness were blurred.

It is simply impossible to determine the ideological and political damage caused by such a formalistic treatment of the growth and quality of party ranks which was promoted by the former organizational leadership of the Central Committee. The present state of party ranks and the typical nihilism in viewing the traditions, origins and achievements of the party are results of such a treatment.

We have obvious reasons to be proud of the struggle waged by the Polish Workers' Party during the occupation and of its role and then the role of the PZPR in rebuilding the country and in creating the foundations of socialism.

One of the important congress documents will be the resolution on the 100th anniversary of the workers movement.

LET US ALSO PAY ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL LIFE, TO THE ROLE OF THE PARTY INTELLIGENTSIA AND TO THE NEED TO CONCENTRATE THE CENTERS OF SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT AND DISCUSSIONS IN PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AROUND IMPORTANT ISSUES OF OUR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. Such issues include socialist democracy, social justice, the contemporary role of the workers class, the needs and role of the young generation, the situation of the family and the situation of women. Let us also pay attention to the philosophical and ideological differentiation of the forces in favor of Poland's socialist development. That is an entirely different quality from what our adversaries are trying to convince us of under the term of political pluralism.

The party's leading role is also of great importance for the information and propaganda media. We are consistently in favor of efforts to improve and intensify press, radio and television information and to search for better and more effective channels of information. Examples of that are the direct transmissions from the Sejm and the extended information provided on the plenary sessions of the Central Committee. We also make errors by unnecessarily delaying the publishing of some items of information. Such inconsistencies and delays must not be repeated.

However, the 10th Central Committee Plenum clearly states that the party must not give up and will not give up its function of inspiring and influencing its own bodies as well as other information and propaganda media.

The programmatic assumptions and paragraph 44 of the draft statutes represent a party viewpoint.

The role of the press, radio and television, especially in this extremely difficult situation of our country, is to make constructive efforts to create healthy opinions, to help to find various ways out--and not to stifle criticism, but to stabilize social moods. Such efforts are also consistent with the Sejm resolution.

The law on control of press, publishing and public performances is being prepared in that spirit. That law is something new in our country. It is based on the conviction that it is in the interest of the socialist state as a whole and in the interest of the citizen as an individual to sensibly restrict the freedom of the spoken and printed word, especially in cases in which attacks are made on the independence and territorial integrity of our state, on our constitutional system, on our international alliances, on our state interests and in the cases in which state, economic and defense secrets are involved, in which war propaganda is made, crime is encouraged, religious feelings are offended and nationalistic or racial discrimination is made. The law in question is meant to counter publication of matter that offends morals, promotes pornography and lauds alcoholism, cruelty and so on.

The draft law in question also defines a large area of the issues that are not subjected to control--Sejm deputies' speeches, judicial verdicts, general legal and normative acts, maps, statistical publications, schoolbooks and teaching aids.

The fact that no control is applied to the publications of higher schools, scientific research institutes and other scientific institutions--such publications are a very large part of publishing production--indicates a great extent to which the freedom of speech will have been enlarged. It also calls for sensibly using that freedom.

At this point I would like to say that there is a dispute with Solidarity experts about Solidarity bulletins and prints bearing the footnote: "For Internal Use." Those experts would like to exempt such publications from control. However, the whole practice shows leaflets or illegal little newspapers, massively published in tens of thousands of copies, to be in essence political publications, in substance frequently aimed at the political principles of socialism, at our alliances and at the party. That requires control and political counteraction.

Press rights will be an important component part of the citizen's rights and obligations. It will be another important element of the legal regulation of public life in the spirit of socialist democracy.

It is highly important to strengthen socialist democracy on the basis of regulating public life by means of legal acts and to pave the way for socialist renewal with legal acts, which at the same time guarantee that renewal. The substance of those draft acts or of the theses of those drafts should be reflected in the precongress discussion as broadly as possible.

Party Unity

PARTY UNITY IS TODAY OF CARDINAL IMPORTANCE. ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE PARTY UNITY ARE THE GREATEST THREAT POSSIBLE TO THE POSITION OF THE PARTY AS A RULING PARTY AND TO ITS LEADING ROLE.

The programmatic assumptions and the draft amendments to the statutes regard freedom of inquiries and discussion and the right to express and to defend one's views as principles of ideological life in the party. However, that must not lead to undermining the ideological substance of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The experience of workers and communist parties shows that extremes and tendencies have always jeopardized those parties. Such extremes and tendencies have also emerged in the present discussion. What separates those factions and tendencies is their attitude to the programmatic assumptions and draft amendments in the statutes.

On the one hand, there are pronouncements and publications disputing the value of the programmatic assumptions because of their alleged conservatism, and calling for far-reaching changes in the party program. That trend negates the achievements attained by People's Poland in its 36 years, calls into question general patterns, particularly of real socialism, and undermines the principles of democratic centralism in particular by demanding for the party organization the right to not comply with the decisions of elected party organs at a higher level.

On the other hand, a tendency has surfaced, clearly manifested in the declaration by the so-called Katowice Party Forum, to regard the programmatic assumptions as a deviation from Marxism, and the decisions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum as a compromise with the rightwing and with revisionism. The forum participants have accused the programmatic assumptions of lacking a class assessment of social phenomena and processes, of deliberately absorbing the party's attention with the problems of settling accounts, and of blurring the real features and essence of the counterrevolution. The paradox of that declaration lies in the fact that it mixes correct issues with absurd accusations.

We clearly and definitely reply to representatives of both tendencies: Our party utilizes class criteria in evaluating the situation, seeks effective ways to settle the crisis and to stabilize the economy, and puts its stake in the defense of socialism by the Poles themselves--through mobilizing all possibilities and the nation's patriotic forces guided by the feeling of civil responsibility for the condition of the state. The party invariably stands for the durability of our alliances and relations with fraternal parties and with the countries of the socialist community. That has been attested to by all programmatic documents issued by the party since August 1980, by the proceedings of Central Committee plenums, and by the Politburo and the government's activity.

As far as our attitude to religion is concerned, the party has rejected the leftwing accusations of the spirit of capitulation and of revisionism, as well as the suggestions to drop the position on religion in the party program and statutes. The programmatic assumptions offer a sensible formula: "The party also admits to its ranks religious working people and enables them to conduct political activity in line with its programmatic principles. The party as a whole advocates a scientific world outlook and in this spirit conducts its educational and training activity."

Also the approach to new phenomena in the party, and particularly to the so-called horizontal structures, is of essential importance.

Point one, the fact must be admitted that the new forms of contacts and platforms for bringing closer party aktivs from various social groups may express activity and invigoration in the party and may enrich its work in practice. But--point two--such activity must not result in undermining and substituting for the historically proven Leninist party structure, or in undermining the party's cohesion. That would go against the unity of the party and would provide conditions for splits and factions.

Some representatives of the "horizontal movement" would like to introduce to our party's program formulations departing far from the substance of Marxist-Leninist principles. If one uses Torun as an example, the tendency represented there has the goal to alter the nature of the party to a social democratic one with all the ensuing consequences. The party ruling People's Poland can only be a Marxist-Leninist party. Social democratization would annihilate our party. What matters is not theory, but the danger of a split in the party ranks.

That involves the problem of democratic centralism. The formula of democratic centralism has been and will be viewed in our party as a binding one. However, the point is to take into account both sides of it: that which guarantees our party's efficient activity, and that which makes it democratic.

In the interests of society and of our people, to raise the level of political relations we also must wage the struggle for high moral standards within the party and among people--against slanders, insinuations and frequently ugly gossip, whatever their source. They are very harmful in public life.

What all Poles need is to restore public confidence. The crisis of confidence is very dangerous and has many manifestations. On the one hand, it emerges in the citizen-authority relations, but equally strongly it is evident in relations between individual citizens and even among comrades.

Preparations for the ninth congress are taking place under deteriorating economic conditions. That is going hand in hand with mistrust, with accusations of indolence, or even with deliberately keeping the market short of commodities.

Unfortunately, there are no stocks. Otherwise it would be easy to make them accessible. Action must be taken on several economic fronts simultaneously. Emergency measures must go hand in hand with the endeavor to give the economic reform its final shape, and particularly to give final shape to the role and functions of workers' self-government at an independent enterprise. One must not wait with the reform until the economy is stabilized; neither can one streamline the economy without having reformed it. The reforms must be introduced in the process of streamlining the economy, even with the application of emergency measures.

The economic situation may be regarded as a catastrophic one. Our debts are enormous and the use of our industrial potential has sharply declined. National income for 1981 is in danger of shrinking by a dozen or so percent. Against that background one cannot believe in a miraculously rapid improvement in the economic situation.

THE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION WILL CONTINUE FOR AT LEAST SEVERAL YEARS, BUT IF THE CURRENT YEAR PROVES TO BE FAVORABLE IN AGRICULTURE, THE DECLINE IN THE NATIONAL INCOME MAY PROVE TO BE SMALLER. It is particularly important to keep the economic potential functioning. Coal output is of key importance to the economy. Economizing in fuel is as important as coal output.

Economic Reform

THE PRESERVATION OF THE PRESENT CENTRALIZED SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT, A SYSTEM OF DIRECTIVES AND ORDERS, IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REASONS.

IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION ON REFORM, THE COMMISSION FOR ECONOMIC REFORM HAS RECEIVED ABOUT 2,000 VARIOUS SUPPLEMENTS, CHANGES AND PROPOSALS. THE FIRST ELEMENTS OF THE REFORM WILL BE PUT INTO EFFECT AS SOON AS THEY ARE ENDORSED AT THE NEXT SEJM SESSION.

It is also important to start discussion on the reform of procurement and retail prices. Those changes must be well prepared and preceded by broad public discussion.

The difficult situation also calls for vigorous extraordinary moves, for bringing to the foreground production objectives that must be implemented for some time, even at the expense of others. That applies to the production of food, drugs, sanitary supplies, energy, basic raw materials, housing construction and export needs.

Our intention is to stabilize the economy and particularly to reverse, in a relatively short time--within the next few years--the adverse trend in the national economy, to check the decline in the national income and to begin a period of economic growth.

Poland's International Cooperation

POLAND CAN ONLY EMERGE FROM THE CRISIS BY COOPERATING WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

OUR ALLIANCES AND THE PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES MUST NOT BE UNDERMINED. ANYONE STANDING FOR ANYTHING ELSE IS AN ADVENTURER OR EVEN A CRIMINAL ACTING AGAINST POLISH INTERESTS. I AM SAYING THAT BECAUSE OF THE NUMEROUS AND VARIOUS ANTI-SOVIET PRONOUNCEMENTS.

Such matters are arousing concern in our party, the Central Committee, the Politburo, as well as in the other socialist countries, in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the GDR. All those countries are interested in stabilizing political and economic life in Poland, in consolidating our party's positions, and in strengthening the basic values of socialism. The concern arising against that background motivates publications on Polish subjects in the press of the socialist countries. Those publications vary in quality. However, we should bear in mind that concern in fraternal countries implies our alliance reliability and our ability to comply with military and economic commitments. Those countries give us a significant economic assistance, although Poland is not abiding by a number of its commitments.

We also have a certain function in world politics, and particularly in European politics. We play an important role in the coalition defense system. We must always and fully accomplish that task which is fundamental for our interests and our national security.

In the West, we can see at least two orientations: On the one hand, there is an interest in stabilizing the situation in Poland; the other orientation is represented by a significant part of the military-industrial complex. The latter would welcome an adventure in Poland, an adventure that would involve the Soviet Union in Polish affairs. That makes even more pressing the need to severely condemn and to oppose attacks against the Soviet Union, leaflets and publications, the destruction of Soviet soldiers' graves, attacks on and provocations of Soviet soldiers, spreading false information, for example about an alleged landing near Przemysl, and other occurrences of that kind.

He who wants his relations with the main ally to be natural and in line with the nation's vital interests must not embitter those relations, must not endanger them and must not provide grounds for concern.

In public opinion the conviction prevails--unfortunately, fomented by some publications--that menace on the part of the adversaries of socialism is fiction or a pretext to hinder renewal. The public tends to turn a blind eye on the political and ideological struggle raging in Poland, on the obvious--and unfavorable from the point of view of the interests of socialism--effects of that struggle in the sphere of social consciousness and politics.

The proceedings of the Ninth PZPR Congress will be of fundamental importance for the future of People's Poland and of the party.

The vision of our country's future must thus be presented with great emphasis, taking into account both Polish national aspirations and the values of socialist ideology.

It is also extremely important to discuss methods to restore Poland to its proper role in the world in line with our place in the community of the socialist peoples.

VARIATIONS TO ALLEGED TEXT OF CPSU LETTER

The following variations to the item entitled "Alleged Text of CPSU Letter to Polish Leaders," published in the 10 June 1981 Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page G 19, are taken from Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish broadcast at 2107 GMT on 10 June. The radio version is identical to the LE MONDE text with the following exceptions:

On page G 20, second paragraph, line one, make read: "The changing of the PZPR leadership..." (deleting the world "entire")

On page G 21, seventh paragraph, line one, make read: "In addressing you..." (deleting the phrase "respected comrades")

On page G 22, fourth paragraph, line one, make read: "We would like to believe that the Central..." (rephrasing)

BYDGOSZCZ SOLIDARITY CALLS OFF 11 JUNE STRIKE

LD101524 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Our Bydgoszcz correspondent reports that at 1530, during the meeting of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of NSZZ Solidarity of the Bydgoszcz region, a resolution was passed with one abstention on the protest action connected with the failure to resolve the Bydgoszcz incidents. Bearing in mind the current sociopolitical situation of the country and the appeal made by the episcopate, the MKZ NSZZ Solidarity of Bydgoszcz region has decided to call off the 2-hour warning strike proclaimed for tomorrow.

The resolution states that further decisions [word indistinct] in the matter will depend on the progress and results of the work of the Sejm commission and on the implementation by the Polish Government and the Prosecutor's Office of the solutions which it proposes.

KKP STATEMENTS ON SEJM BILL, SEAPORT WORKERS

LD101710 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Gdansk-Gdynia, 10 Jun (PAP)--The Presidium of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity made a statement in connection with a bill the government submitted to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on employees' self-government, stating that the bill should be decided on in accordance with the will of the workforces, as an element in the overall economic reform.

As the next item on the agenda, there was discussion on employees of the seaports branch, for which the KKP Presidium issued a separate statement. It says that the agreement signed by NSZZ Solidarity and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy should be brought into force as rapidly as possible.

AUTONOMOUS TU'S CRITICIZE BYDGOSZCZ INVESTIGATION

LD101030 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Jun (PAP)--A press spokesman for Poland's Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions said here today that, assessing the speech by Polish Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski in Bydgoszcz last Saturday, the confederation finds the Bydgoszcz case to be taking an inappropriate direction, and thinks that people responsible for the Bydgoszcz events should be punished proportionally to the degree of their guilt. The confederation also voiced concern at the slow pace of work of the prosecution to clear the issue.

TOURIST TRAFFIC TO BE RESTRICTED BY BULGARIA

LD111058 Warsaw PAP in English 0935 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 11 Jun (PAP)--As of June 15, Bulgarian authorities suspended [as received] trips by Polish citizens going to Bulgaria, on their own. The same concerns Polish citizens going through Bulgaria, irrespective of the means of transport they use.

On the other hand, individual and group tourist traffic to Bulgaria organized by Polish travel agencies remains unchanged and will be carried out on the hitherto principles, PAP reports.

CEAUSESCU, KREISKY CONFER IN VIENNA 10 JUN

AU101947 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1822 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Vienna, 10 Jun (AGERPRES)--Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu met Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky on Wednesday, June 10.

Chancellor Bruno Kreisky expressed satisfaction at the visit paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Austria, highlighting it to be a fresh important moment in the evolution of the Romanian-Austrian relations, an outstanding contribution to the cause of detente, peace, friendship and collaboration in Europe and worldwide.

On this occasion, too, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the conviction that his exchanges of opinions with the head of the Austrian state, with the federal chancellor would contribute by their results to the development, on a higher plane, of the collaboration between the two countries.

During the talks President Nicolae Ceausescu and Chancellor Bruno Kreisky exchanged views on the evolution of the Romanian-Austrian relations and on a series of topical issues of the international life. On this line they pointed to the important role incumbent on the two countries' governments in the ever larger promotion of the collaboration between Romania and Austria--in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural fields and in other domains of activity. The sides reasserted the resolve of the two countries to collaborate actively in view of finding constructive solutions to the great problems of contemporaneity, of implementing the European security, of setting up a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration on the European Continent and the world over.

After the conclusion of the talks President Nicolae Ceausescu and Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, upon request by the press, made short statements, stressing the spirit of understanding and collaboration in which the Austrian visit unfolded.

Luncheon Toasts

AU101945 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Vienna, 10 Jun (AGERPRES)--The exchange of views between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, between the Romanian head of state and the federal chancellor of Austria, continued during the luncheon given on June 10 for the president of Romania and for Elena Ceausescu by Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

Austrian high officials attended.

During the luncheon, that passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, toasts were proposed to the health of the two heads of state, to Elena Ceausescu and Herma Kirchschlaeger, to the federal chancellor, to the Romanian and Austrian peoples' prosperity, to the continued development of the relations between the two countries and peoples, to peace and collaboration in the world.

Leaders Attend Exhibition

AU101950 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1828 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Vienna, 10 Jun (AGERPRES)--On June 10 the exhibition "Dacians--Archaeological Discoveries in Romania" was opened, attended by President Nicolae Ceausescu and by Elena Ceausescu, by Federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger and by Herma Kirchschlaeger.

Arranged under the high patronage of the two heads of state, the exhibition is housed in a pavilion of New Hofburg.

At arrival, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu were welcomed by President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger and by Herma Kirchschlaeger.

Short addresses were made by Dr Handorf, director of the Ethnographic Museum of Vienna, Austrian scientific commissioner of the exhibition, and by Professor Hadrian Daicoviciu, director of the Museum of History of Transylvania, general commissioner of the exhibition.

Dr Hertha Firnberg, federal minister of science and research opened the exhibition that brings together art objects, proofs of a two-millenia old civilization, of the material and spiritual culture born and developed in the territories inhabited by Geto-Dacians, that attained a climax at the time of Burebista and Decebalus. The exhibition is at the same time a true message of friendship and peace addressed by the Romanian people to the Austrian people, to all the peoples of the world.

Ceausescu's 9 Jun Toast

AU101732 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 10 Jun 81 pp 1-2, 5

[Toast by Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at a dinner given in his honor by Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger at the Vienna Hofburg Palace on 9 June 1981]

[Text] Highly esteemed Mr President, highly esteemed Mrs Kirchschlaeger, ladies and gentlemen: I would like to express our satisfaction at our meeting you again, Mr President, on Austrian soil, to cordially thank you at the same time for the welcome given us, and to convey to the esteemed Mrs Herma Kirchschlaeger and to all Austrian personages present here cordial greetings and best wishes.

Your visit is an expression of the good relations between Romania and Austria, of the traditional friendship and cooperation of our peoples, based on a deep feeling of mutual esteem and respect. We assess as positive the fact that extensive cooperation in many fields is developing between our countries, in the spirit of the accords, of the top-level talks held both in Vienna and in Bucharest and of the concluded agreements. Our goods exchange increased in the past 5 years by over 50 percent; and progress was achieved in the field of scientific-technical and cultural cooperation.

We are of the opinion that there are possibilities to expand and diversify Romanian-Austrian collaboration and cooperation both bilaterally and in third markets, and we are convinced that during this visit we can jointly find new ways and means to use these possibilities in the interest of our peoples, detente and world peace. In our country the talents and diligence of the Austrian people are well known, as are the good results of their work and the important contributions they have made and are making toward the cause of progress and civilization. We are pleased that through this visit we can directly acquaint ourslves with some aspects of their current development. The Romanian people are also displaying an intensive constructive activity regarding the economic and social progress of the country, developing and modernizing its productive forces, regarding strong promotion of the achievements of modern science and culture, perfecting the democratic leadership of the socialist state, the participation of the people's masses in the entire public life, and a higher general level of civilization of the society. Despite their different sociopolitical systems, Romania and Austria have many common interests as European Danube countries. They are equally interested in actively cooperating to make quicker headway on the path of economic and social progress, and at the same time they advocate the promotion of a policy of peace and independence, collaboration and detente in Europe and in the world.

In our days, the international situation is exceedingly involved and contradictory. We can say that two diametrically opposed trends are in worldwide confrontation: On the one hand, the struggle of peoples for their free and independent assertion, for cooperation with equal rights is intensifying, and on the other hand, the old policy of domination and force, of interference in the internal affairs of other states, of consolidation and division into spheres of influence is being continued, a policy that leads to tension and increases the dangers to the security of all nations and to peace through the world.

If the peoples, the progressive forces from everywhere, act united and cooperate more and more closely, they can bring about an end to the exacerbation of the international situation. They can achieve the resumption and resolute continuation of the policy of detente, independence and peace. In our opinion it is decisive that in relations among all states the principles of complete equality, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, nonuse of force and abstention from the threat of force be strictly observed, principles which alone are suited to guarantee the normal development of international life.

It is in that spirit that Romania is acting and making its contribution toward a constructive solution of the big problems confronting mankind. We are developing, on a broad basis, cooperation with the socialist and with the developing countries. We are promoting, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, relations with the developed capitalist countries, with all states of the world regardless of their social system.

We resolutely struggle for the establishment of a new climate of security and cooperation in Europe, for success of the Madrid meeting, for an agreement on convening a conference devoted to strengthening confidence and disarmament on the continent, for continuing the process of cooperation and security initiated at the Helsinki Conference. It is necessary to work with all our might for preventing the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles on the continent, for an early transition to concrete negotiations in this sense. It is necessary to do everything for a united Europe where despite all differences in social systems a comprehensive cooperation is launched that is based on complete equality and mutual respect, on every people's right to develop freely and independently at its own discretion, protected from any aggression or interference in its internal affairs.

The most pressing question of our time consists of ending the arms race that has reached unprecedented proportions and is imposing a constantly heavier strain on the peoples, and of coming to real disarmament measures, primarily nuclear disarmament. It is necessary to say a firm "no" to armament, and to make every effort to ensure that the marvelous achievements of the human mind be put exclusively to the service of peace and progress, for safeguarding man's basic right--the right to peace, to live in freedom.

We are most deeply worried over the tensions and conflicts that continue to exist in various parts of the world. It is absolutely necessary to renounce military actions and acts of force that inflict great damage and much suffering on the peoples, and to ensure the solving of all problems between states exclusively by peaceful means, through negotiations.

In this sense it is necessary to work for the discontinuation of any military actions in Lebanon, for the strict respecting of that country's sovereignty and integrity. It is in the interest of all Lebanese forces that want the country's freedom and independence irrespective of their political and religious convictions, to put an end to the struggles among one another and to join forces to ensure the free and independent existence of Lebanon. We also believe that the efforts to establish a global, lasting and just peace in the Middle East should be intensified. All problems and conflicts which seriously impair the interests of peace and detente in various parts of the world today should be solved by means of negotiations and mutual understanding.

We advocate elimination of the state of underdevelopment in which a large part of the peoples of the world find themselves and which exerts a most deeply negative effect on the world's sociopolitical development, and we are for establishing a new international economic system.

The just and durable solution of all these big and involved problems of our era requires the active participation in international life of all states, and especially of the small and medium-sized countries, the developing countries and the nonaligned countries.

I am firmly convinced, Mr President, that our countries will as before fruitfully cooperate in the world arena in the service of the lofty ideals of the peoples, of freedom and independence, of security and of peace. Bearing this in mind and being convinced that the visit to your country will constitute an important factor in developing Romanian-Austrian relations, I ask you to raise your glass: To your health, Mr President of the Republic of Austria; To the health of Mrs Herma Kirchschlaeger; to the progress and prosperity of the Austrian people; To the friendship and collaboration between our countries and peoples: for peace and cooperation in Europe and in the world.

JOINT TRADE TALKS WITH HUNGARY HELD IN OREDEA

AU101815 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1744 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jun (AGERPRES)—On June 9 and 10 a working meeting took place in Oradea, of the chairmen of the joint Romanian-Hungarian group for foreign trade. The Romanian delegation was led by Dumitru Petrescu, first deputy minister of home trade, and the Hungarian delegation by Karoly Molnar, deputy minister of home trade of Hungary. They analyzed the stage of contract-making as part of the consumer goods exchanges in 1981 and set measures for the integral fulfillment of the provisions stipulated in protocols between the two neighbor and friendly countries.

MINING, ENERGY TALKS HELD WITH TURKEY'S BINGOL

Energy Talks Held

AU101813 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jun (AGERPRES)--Virgil Trofin, Romanian deputy prime minister and minister of mines, oil and geology, and Serbulent Bingol, Turkish minister of energy and natural resources, surveyed on June 10 the stage of bilateral cooperation in the oil, mining and energy industries. Possibilities were also examined of expanding and diversifying cooperation in those fields.

Turkish Report on Talks

TA101850 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1600 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Energy and Natural Resources Minister Serbulent Bingol, who is currently on an official visit to Romania, has begun his contacts in Bucharest. Bingol this morning met with Romanian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Mines, Petroleum and Geology Virgil Trofin. The Turkish-Romanian talks were later continued with the participation of delegations.

Bingol will tour the energy and industry installations in the various towns of Romania until 12 June. On 12 June, Bingol will return to Bucharest and hold meetings with ministers of the machine building industry and foreign trade. He will also be received by Romanian Prime Minister Ilie Verdet on the same day.

BRIEFS

CUBAN CONVENTION--The instruments of ratification of a Romanian-Cuban convention on legal assistance in civil matters were exchanged in Havana. [Date not given] The exchange was made by Romanian Ambassador to Havana Neculaiu Moraru, and Rene Anillo Capote, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Cuba. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Jun 81 p 6 AU]

BELGRADE, AFP REPORT EXPLOSION IN EMBASSY AREA

Diplomatic Car Explosion

AU110652 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 11 Jun 81

[Text] A little before 2100 last night in Belgrade, a powerful explosion occurred in a passenger automobile with diplomatic registration. The automobile was parked in the section of Njegos Street where some foreign missions are located. No official statement has been issued as yet, but it has been learned that no one was injured. The security organs went to the scene of the accident immediately.

AFP: Iraqi Embassy Bombing

NC102245 Paris AFP in English 2243 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (AFP)--The Iraqi military mission building here was bombed tonight.

The blast wrecked a car of the mission and damaged the building's facade. Windows of nearby buildings were shattered.

A mission spokesman told Yugoslav newsmen there were no casualties.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE SUPPORTS BREZHNEV LETTER

LD102151 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)--The special plenum of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) Central Committee has given support to the stands and assessments presented in Brezhnev's letter.

During the discussion yesterday and today, no PUWP Central Committee member polemized with Brezhnev's letter, Lazar Martinovic, the Yugoslav daily "BOBRA" correspondent in Poland, stated in a special report for the Yugoslav TV this evening.

The Polish party Central Committee members have stated great concern for the party and the state and urged a decisive action.

In their criticism and assessment of the situation, (?a number) of Central Committee members have gone further than the hitherto Central Committee assessments and even Brezhnev's letter, Martinovic reported.

PUWP Central Committee members have noted that the party leadership has been making too many concessions and that it is unmilitant. They have stressed that the state authority has no power.

As far as Brezhnev's letter is concerned, PUWP Central Committee members have described it as a condensed assessment of the situation and as stating great concern for Poland.

The report, broadcast on this evening's news, stated that Kania has asked the Central Committee to take a secret vote of confidence to the party Politburo.

ASSEMBLY ADOPTS DRAFT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

LD100752 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1012 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Jun (TANJUG)--The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, chaired by Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen, today adopted draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution and forwarded them to the republican and provincial assemblies for agreement. The delegates also approved the report on the results of the public discussion on draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the draft constitutional law for the implementation of the first to seventh amendments to the SFRY Constitution.

At the beginning of their session, the delegates paid tribute to Milentije Popovic, president of the Federal Assembly and a prominent revolutionary, thinker and worker on the 10th anniversary of his death.

Dragoslav Markovic, president of the SFRY Assembly and chairman of the Constitutional Commission, spoke to the delegates today about the work on the preparation of the constitutional amendments and on the results of the public discussion. The Federal Chamber then unanimously adopted the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution, the draft constitutional law for the implementation of the first to seventh amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the report on the results of the public discussion on the amendments.

During the session, Dusan Bogdanov briefed the chamber on the preparations for the third congress of self-managers. Amendments to congressional documents will be accepted until the congress opens and even during its proceedings. Apart from that, the election of all delegates for the congress of self-managers has been carried out. About 80 percent are production workers; 40 percent of them are skilled and highly skilled workers. It was agreed today that six delegates should attend the work of the congress of self-managers--three from both houses of the SFRY Assembly.

During the session, the delegates adopted the law protecting inventions, technical improvements and trademarks. The law introduces the new patent system, which is in keeping with the socioeconomic and self-management relations and interests of associated labor. After the discussion, the delegates of the Federal Chamber decided to ask the Federal Executive Council to accelerate the work of the social agreement on the strategy of technical and technological development in Yugoslavia so that this accord can be adopted by the end of 1981. The delegates of the federal chamber adopted five laws pertaining to the welfare of ex-servicemen.

Under emergency procedure, the Federal Chamber then adopted a law temporarily banning the 1981 use of part of the social resources belonging to sociopolitical and self-management interest communities. This involves restrictions on general and joint expenditures amounting to about two percent of the total assets.

It has been calculated that this ensures considerable resources this year for the promotion of foreign trade for our economy. Bearing in mind the serious difficulties in the realization of the 1981 export policy, the Federal Executive Council proposed a restriction on general and joint expenditures from the municipality to the federation levels. It is common knowledge that general and joint expenditures this year registered a 35-percent increase compared with the January-April 1980 period. This is considerably in excess of the policy agreed to in the resolution for 1981. It could also be said that in the bank accounts of sociopolitical and self-management interest communities there are as much as 20 billion dinars more than in all the bank accounts of associated labor and business banks. Accordingly, the possibility for reducing this expenditure does exist; this law has made it possible.

Also under emergency procedure, the chamber today adopted a law temporarily banning the 1981 use of a part of the credit potential of the basic banks. Accordingly, banks will secure the resources to provide credits for the export of equipment and ships and to carry out credit work abroad.

The Federal Chamber then approved the draft law on the basis of the social system of information and on the social system of information in the federation.

The federal chamber adopted the proposal regarding the adoption of a law on changes and supplements to the law on the foundations of the credit and banking system and asked the Federal Executive Council, in drafting the proposed law, to bear in mind the observations made by the chamber's working bodies. At its session today, the chamber also passed the proposal regarding the adoption of a law on changes and supplements to the law on sea and internal navigation.

Continuing its session, the chamber accepted the report by the legislative commission, which reviewed the information on the legislative and legal work of the federation. The introductory report in connection with this was submitted by Dr Miodrag Zecevic, commission chairman, who stressed that with the adoption of many laws and other regulations as well as of self-management enactments, the normative regulation of social regulations on the basis of the SFRY Constitution has already been generally implemented and rounded off, and that generally speaking, the legal system of Yugoslavia has been established and formulated.

At the conclusion of the normal proceedings, the Federal Council adopted the conclusions on the measures for the development of a self-management judiciary and the conclusions on the discussion of the report on the implementation of the SFRY Assembly resolution on the development of local communities.

Nikola Stojanovic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Bosnia and Hercegovina, was today appointed first chairman of the "Edvard Kardelj" award committee.

Albania replied to our consistent friendly and good-neighborly policy with hypocrisy and secret hostility. This was said by Eljhami Nimani, reporting member from the Committee for Foreign Policy. Under the guise of an (?ideological) struggle against Yugoslavia, Albania tried to dispute all the essential values of the SFRY, its federative system, the policy of equality of nations and nationalities, self-management, our entire internal system, our foreign policy, especially the policy of nonalignment....

The committee endorsed and approved the standpoints set out in the note which the Federal Executive Council sent to the government of Albania in which our standpoints were set out on Yugoslavia's readiness for Yugoslav-Albanian cooperation to continue on condition that it is based on full respect for the principles of national sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in each other's internal affairs, which in itself excludes any policy of territorial claims.

Eljhami Nimani then said a few words as a delegate to the federal chamber.

Yugoslavia has constantly offered its hand to Albania for the development of good relations. We have considered and still consider that good relations are important and of interest to the peoples of both of our countries and their security.

The People's Republic of Albania, whose strategic aim was and remains a "greater Albania," has subordinated its relations with Yugoslavia to this aim, and they were the initiators of oscillations in relations, the sometimes good and sometimes bad relations, between our countries.

Albania tried all out to depict the position of Albanians in Yugoslavia as inadequate and as a nationality which is not equal with all the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, which does not enjoy solidarity with all Yugoslav nations and nationalities, but as some kind of neglected minority without rights, which Albania needs to look after.

The position of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia is not regulated by any kind of state treaty between Yugoslavia and Albania. Full equality of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia was gained by our national liberation struggle, in which the Albanian nationality participated shoulder to shoulder with the other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Therefore, we Albanians in Yugoslavia reject every kind of paternalism.

The hostile activity in Kosovo from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism was aimed at threatening the country's territorial integrity as well as at undermining our constitutional order. This was said by Mihailo Brajovic, chairman of the Federal Chamber Committee for National Defense. This was also an attempt to destabilize Kosovo and Yugoslavia in a worsened international situation, in a region which is close to a war flashpoint, and at a time when big power and bloc rivalries and their confrontation have increased. And all this was done with encouragement from neighboring Albania, from hostile emigre centers and other hostile forces abroad. The vital interests and gains of all the working people and citizens, all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia were threatened. Therefore, the resolve to involve the forces of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection and to defeat the hostile activity in Kosovo was welcomed by all.

Brajovic mentioned that experiences and lessons from the work of the system of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection in conditions such as in Kosovo impose the need for further socialization of all-people's defense. The weaknesses of the system of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection were manifested most frequently and most strongly where the policy formulated at the 11th LCY Congress--that the focus of its development should be in the basic units of society, the basic organizations and local communities--had not been carried out consistently.

Mihailo Brajovic warned that the role of the delegate assembly, as well as the delegate system as a whole, was being affirmed only slowly, which has an essential effect on the overall socialization of the system of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection. Therefore, initiative and responsibility by every point in the system of All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection did not come to the fore fully. No one should wait, Brajovic added, for orders to fight against the enemy, especially when he is directly threatened by him.

Batric Jovanovic, delegate from the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, also took part in the discussion on the situation in Kosovo. Having stressed that in the current League of Communists action in Kosovo verbal condemnations of Albanian nationalism and irredentism predominate, Jovanovic said that in the context of the struggle to improve the situation in the province it is of enormous importance to overcome the following as soon as possible: first, the longstanding toleration, without our counteraction, of the indoctrination of Albanians in Kosovo with outrageous anti-Yugoslav lies and poison, and lies about Albania by Tirana radio and television. Second, the use of textbooks on the history of the Albanian people, written both in Kosovo and in Albania, with greater-Albanian and anti-Yugoslav undertones. Third, minimization or disregard by the Kosovo public information media of the great contribution made by our community, particularly by Serbia, to the economic and social development of Kosovo. And fourth, the established atmosphere of insecurity and lack of prospects among the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo which compel them to undertake massive emigration and which has been going on since the mid-sixties.

The most negative phenomenon in Kosovo, Jovanovic went on, is the deterioration of intranational relations which, unfortunately, has been going on for years. This is manifested by Serb and Montenegrin emigration from Kosovo. On the basis of the census results and of assessments made by demographic experts from the Serbian Institute of Statistics, it appears that during the past 15-16 years, about 40 percent of Montenegrins and 20-30 percent of Serbs emigrated from Kosovo, added Batric Jovanovic.

Speaking of the unique "segregation" in Kosovo schools, Serbian, Montenegrin and Albanian children attend separate departments in kindergartens, and subsequently in primary and secondary schools, as well as at faculties. Jovanovic stressed in conclusion that the equality of nations and nationalities in the Kosovo schools can be implemented by the strict and equal use of the Serb and Albanian languages (alternate lectures in the one and the other language). [TANJUG parentheses]

In his capacity as rapporteur of the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations, Bosko Baskot stressed that to understand the situation in Kosovo, one must bear in mind also the activity of the internal enemy and his collusion with foreign enemy forces. The committee also considered certain objective circumstances, Baskot added, such as low level of development of production forces, structural imbalances in the economy, nondevelopment of socialist self-management relations and others. However, despite all this, the committee believes that the shortcomings of subjective factors have to be examined with an open mind.

The committee also believes, Baskot went on to say, that some of the responsibility falls on organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the federation, either because of their lack of knowledge of the situation or because they underrated specific negative social manifestations, or because they failed to take timely measures and activities in keeping with their constitutional powers. In this connection, the committee believes the appropriate organs and organizations in the federation, including the Federal Executive Council, should review their work self-critically and draw the necessary conclusions for the more efficient functioning of our sociopolitical system.

Baskot added that the committee expressed its unanimous support for the socialist forces in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, for their courageous and uncompromising attitude toward a decisive destruction of the enemy, and for the unmasking and combating of the illegal organization.

Emina Dolmagic, a delegate from Serbia, said that a direct attack and onslaught had been carried out on the most vital, the most shining and the greatest values of our socialist revolution and community, that is, against brotherhood and unity and against the integrity of the SFRY territory.

Without going into all the details of the counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo and the activity of internal and external enemies of all forms and complexions, the view must be expressed that the most responsible subjects and protagonists of socialist and self-management life and work in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo have to a great extent failed.

It was precisely because of this kind of attitude toward the tasks and functions entrusted to them by the most responsible organs and individuals that the enemy was in a position over a long period of time to get ready and organized and join the ranks of the League of Communists so as to manifest all his brutality, reactionary attitude and hostility toward our entire system, and even toward the personality and work of Comrade Tito.

For this reason, the working class and the working people and citizens, war veterans, young people and pioneers and all other subjective forces demand an accelerated process of differentiation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. In this demand there can be no delay, waiting or compromise; resolute struggle must be waged in this matter. And the burden of the struggle must be borne primarily by the communists in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and the assistance by the entire League of Communists, especially of Serbia and Yugoslavia, will not fail to materialize.

With all the means at our disposal, we must preserve the integrity of the territory of the SFRY and this must be clear to everyone. There must be no vacillation or dilemma here. For this reason, full support is given to all the measures and actions to prevent enemy activity and counterrevolution by Albanian nationalists and irredentists.

Taking part in the discussion, Vanco Cvetkovski recalled, among other things, that nationalistic and counterrevolutionary attacks in Kosovo directed against the foundations of the SFRY have had a negative and direct influence on the political situation in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Nationalistic and irredentist sentiments in Macedonia are manifested through the distribution of leaflets, slogan changing and the daubing of nationalist slogans, the introduction of textbooks from Albania via Kosovo, the introduction of nationalistic indoctrination into the educational process, and so forth.

Cvetkovski added that security organs had vigorously acted against these manifestations and that the Macedonian people will carry on a resolute struggle against all manifestations which violate our unity.

"Albanian nationalism and irredentism, Cvetkovski stressed, has not been destroyed. Its threat still exists. It will probably continue to emerge with all its brutality and destructive power. We should not have any illusions; it will seek new and extended scope and forms for its activity. No manifestations should be underestimated. There are, Cvetkovski went on to say, no minor or major manifestations. We must consolidate our forces and efficiently suppress minor manifestations too to prevent them from turning into major ones."

After fully accepting the given assessments and the measures which have been taken, Dr Vulnet Starova stressed that our entire country is rightly alarmed. The enemy has encroached on one of the most fundamental achievements of our socialist revolution, the brotherhood of our nations and nationalities, in wishing to prevent our further path of development.

Having stressed the historical fact that the destinies of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities and ethnic groups who live in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia have always been bound up with the destinies of the Macedonian people--in the past they have all been oppressed together, exploited and deprived of their rights by the same class and political enemy--Starova stressed that the representatives of Albanian nationality are represented in all state and political bodies of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. In the SFRY Assembly, there are four delegates of Albanian nationality from the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, while in the Macedonian Assembly there are 24 delegates of Albanian nationality. Out of 3,089 delegates elected to the municipal assemblies in this republic, 267 are Albanians.

Taking part in the discussion, Luka Knezevic (Socialist Republic of Montenegro) stressed that the roots of nationalism, in this specific case Albanian nationalism, did not appear yesterday or today, but are to a large extent due to our inconsistency, opportunism, lack of respect for agreed policy, compromises, deviation from established stands, self-satisfaction and laxity of individual leaderships and leaders, which all created scope for the work of hostile elements.

Speaking of the reasons for the escalation of Albanian nationalism and why that country has become a model to some young people, teachers and professors in which, as he said, an etatist-Stalinist regime is in power, Knezevic said: The reasons have to be sought also in the maintenance of the variant of socialism where nationalism has for years been nourished by Enver Hoxha's doctrines about the establishment of a greater-Albanian state, and where national romanticism is manifested euphorically, which in various forms and by various means reached a section of our young people and students.

Now one can hear dramatic speeches at meetings of many Albanians who as tourists or guests visited their relatives in Albania, Luka Knezevic went onto say. They were all not surprised, but shocked, by the material backwardness and by the low standard of living of the Albanian people and by the police regime in that country. There is a growing desire among us all, Knezevic said, for the development of good-neighborly relations which will be mutually useful. In this regard, we measured up to our well-known stands and what is more, we often provided facilities, made concessions, and in many instances made great efforts, and to our detriment too. These relations, Knezevic went on to say, were welcomed by all our working people, but they did not and cannot accept and understand that we had to endure so much and maintain cooperation particularly at the expense of this kind of nationalistic escalation which set for itself the target of dismembering the SFRY, establishing the republic of Kosovo and annexing it to a so-called great and nationally pure Albania.

Pesic Report on Albania

LD100846 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Introductory report by Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, to SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, on relations with Albania]

[Text] [passage indistinct] At the same time, we considered that normal good-neighborly relations between the SFRY and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania represent a contribution to peace, stability and security in this area, so sensitive and so significant for broader relations and equilibrium in both Europe and the Mediterranean. Individual Albanian leaders from time to time made statements which could be interpreted in this sense.

As is well known, our relations with Albania started moving in the direction of fuller normalization toward the end of the sixties, at a time of great tension in Europe. The two countries' diplomatic missions were elevated to embassy status and ambassadors were exchanged.

During the years which followed, there was a gradual but steady expansion in the exchange of goods, and the first contacts were established in the field of culture, science and education, although only with the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. It was during these years that our citizens of Albanian nationality started paying increasingly numerous visits to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania within the framework of various cultural, educational, tourist and other arrangements. The possibilities for visits by our citizens from our other environments were only sporadic owing to stubborn restrictions on the Albanian side. In effect, we accepted such an unusual and one-sided practice, as it seemed likely to us, at least at the beginning, that this was a passing phenomenon in the process of normalization of our relations and that the Albanian side's attitude would gradually change.

As is well known, Albania's readiness for cooperation and rapprochement with us abounded in contradictions and numerous fluctuations, considerably motivated by internal political conflicts and the settling of accounts during several years of the past decade.

It is not my intention here to embark on an appraisal of the internal political situation in Albania. Perhaps it should merely be noted that the majority of those Albanian officials against whom the most drastic repressive measures were applied during the seventies were charged with being "traitors" to the Albanian state, exponents of "revisionist" ideas and advocates of opening Albania to the world and even of the introduction of self-management in the Albanian economy.

Standing firmly on the principles of good-neighborliness and noninterference in internal affairs and above all taking into account the common objective interests of peace and security in this part of the world, we made constant and sincere efforts to promote mutual relations and cooperation despite the above-mentioned oscillations in Albania's policy.

During this period, a number of specific measures, including those pertaining to the system, were taken in our country to give an impetus to trade and economic cooperation with Albania. Let us mention just some of these measures:

By decision of the Federal Executive Council, Albania was given special status in our foreign trade procedures. We decided not to apply to it the law on road transport, which enabled unlimited numbers of Albanian trucks to use Yugoslav roads. The Federal Executive Council passed a decision to subsidize the Yugoslav airline's unprofitable Belgrade-Tirana line to meet the Albanian side's need for air communications. In 1976, the SFRY Assembly passed a law authorizing the use of funds from the federal budget to cover all damage caused by the creation of a reservoir on our territory covering an area of 700 hectares in order to construct the Firza hydroelectric station on Albanian territory.

On our initiative, an agreement was signed on linking up railroad systems, that, is construct a railroad from Titograd to the Albanian frontier which would allow Albania to benefit from the most economic communications for the transit of Albanian goods to European countries.

This process of normalization of relations particularly contributed to the expansion of trade. The exchange of goods between the two countries reached a relatively high level. In 1980, the exchange of goods amounted to $115 million in both directions so that the SFRY is among Albania's leading foreign trade partners. In 1979 and 1980, the foreign trade ministers exchanged visits to sign agreements on the exchange of goods during 5-year and 12-month periods. It should be noted that this represented the first meeting at the ministerial level between our two neighboring countries in 30 years.

Considerable efforts were also made to develop and promote other forms of bilateral cooperation. The work of joint commissions on border questions, water resources and so forth was increasingly successful.

We are giving these details on the development of bilateral relations and cooperation with Albania to appraise the consistency of our policy of good-neighborly relations and the efforts which we made over a long period of years for the normalization of relations and promotion of cooperation with that neighboring country.

Bearing in mind our relations as a whole and the participation of all our subjects in implementing cooperation, it should be noted that some of the aspects of our cooperation with Albania were not always adequately appraised and followed and their consequences were not sufficiently understood. As has already been noted, Albania constantly imposed--and was successful in this respect--one-sided relations, especially in the fields of culture, education, science and tourism, in what is known as the circulation of people and ideas, with the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, in other words with the Albanian nationality in the SFRY, systematically striving to subordinate them to its own greater-Albanian irredentist aims. Our tolerance for and the failure to prevent the Albanian side's misuse of these forms of cooperation is something for which our appropriate organs undoubtedly bear joint responsibility.

In many of our political bodies, including those in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, an open and clear critical analysis of these relations was made and their true character and substance were appraised with which our public has now been broadly acquainted, so I shall not go into detail. The appropriate organs of the federation, together with the organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, are taking concrete steps to bring all the forms of our cooperation with Albania in line with our constitutional and legislative norms and with internationally accepted standards of relations between sovereign states, which is what relations between the SFRY and Albania should be.

During all these years, regardless of the process of normalization of relations and cooperation, the anti-Yugoslav political campaign in Albania continued in the press, in publishing and literature as well as in statements made by the highest Albanian officials.

On our side we felt that we should not become involved in polemics of this kind, which would create tension in relations and hinder the process of normalization, which, in our view, is not in the interest of the peoples of the two countries.

We also proceeded from the assumption that the attacks made on our country from Albania were likely to have been at least partly motivated by the domestic needs of the Albanian regime, its dogmatic-bureaucratic practices and the encapsulation [zatvorenost] of Albanian society. We also proceeded from the assumption that ideological conflicts, in other words, fundamental differences between the internal systems in the SFRY and Albania should not represent in themselves an insurmountable obstacle in the development of equal interstate cooperation good-neighborly relations.

We note in this connection that the SFRY has achieved a high level of cooperation and understanding with many countries with which there are deep differences concerning our systems.

The contents of Tirana's attacks are well known, both as regards their dogmatic and retrograde character and the desire to cause intranational intolerance and hatred. Despite all Albania's effort to present them as an ideological conflict, these attacks were and continue to be a calculated part of the greater-Albanian irredentist policy toward our country. This is a fact which should not be ignored. It goes without saying that these are their aims and claims. However, the present realities and our country's readiness and ability to resolutely guard the closeness of our nations and nationalities as the achievement of our socialist revolution and socialist self-managing development are quite a different matter. The Albanian leadership obviously ignores the historical and political realities in the relations between our two countries. They are premeditatedly consolidating on a long-term basis the policy of greater-Albanian nationalism, pursuing an irredentist strategy and striving to achieve success by unacceptable and flagrant interference in our domestic affairs.

Following this strategy, they have ceaselessly striven to assume the role of protector of the Albanian nationality in the SFRY and to establish a paternalistic attitude toward this nationality, whose members are SFRY citizens. At the same time, they are resorting to the crudest falsification of or simple silence on the facts concerning the real constitutional position of the Albanian nationality in our country and its achievements in economic, cultural and other forms of development and in the socialist transformation in general.

It is not my intention to embark here on any comparisons between the levels of development attained in Albania and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo which, it goes without saying, is not without difficulties. Several responsible leaders from Kosovo have recently given numerous relevant facts with regard to a comparison between the political, human and other rights and the standard of living enjoyed by the members of the Albanian nationality in the SFRY, especially in Kosovo, and the citizens of Albania.

The Albanian leadership's irredentist aspirations in the SFRY particularly manifested themselves, as is well known, during the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Prizren League [in 1978], when the idea of the creation of an ethnically "united" and greater Albanian state was launched with undertones of unrealized ideal.

It is not out of place to remind the irredentists in Tirana that not a small number of other nationalities live in Albania as well. As for the position of our people in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, it must be noted that the Albanian leadership's policy has, above all, been to maliciously minimize their real number and to enforce assimilation and not strive to ensure their rights and position in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Bearing in mind the policy of territorial claims by the Albanian leadership against the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and other parts of the SFRY and in the interest of future Yugoslav-Albanian relations and peace and stability in this part of the world, we face the need for a clear delineation between good-neighborly cooperation in all fields of mutual interest, with full and active participation in this cooperation by the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as an inalienable part of our community, and the efforts made by the Albanian irredentists to exploit individual forms of this cooperation for its anti-Yugoslav separatist aims.

The Albanian territorial aspirations, regardless of the form they take, and the actual interference in our internal affairs in various ways constitute a crude violation of the fundamental principles of the UN Charter and other important norms of international law. In Tirana, they must be aware of this fact and of their own responsibilities. The defense of our sovereignty, territorial integrity and the inviolability of our borders represent the basis and the imperative of our policy. It is well known that every country's security lies on its borders.

On this occasion, we should also mention the fact that the principle of the inviolability of borders in Europe, which was also confirmed at the conference on European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki, is a vital prerequisite for the stability of relations, for detente and for peaceful coexistence and security on this continent, and this means in the Balkans as well.

The Albanian leadership's official attitudes on the events in Kosovo with regard to the so-called Albanian territories in the SFRY, torn away from the mother country, and its questioning of the present borders and international agreements and accords by which they were established cannot fail to manifest themselves as the making of open territorial claims against Yugoslavia. The thesis about the fragmenting of the Albanians in Yugoslavia between two republics and one province which has also repeatedly been voiced and presented by Albania's most responsible elements, and the broad irredentist campaign conducted under the slogan of setting up an Albanian republic in Yugoslavia represent direct support and encouragement for the irredentist counterrevolutionary elements and their activities. These activities are aimed at changing the constitutional order in Kosovo and reshaping the SFRY's internal borders, which is an obvious act of direct and unconcealed interference in our country's internal affairs.

This has been proved even more fully by the open and unreserved support for the hostile demands made by the demonstrators in Kosovo and for their destructive methods as well as by identifying with their aims.

This kind of impermissible behaviour by the responsible elements in Albania toward a sovereign neighboring country has directly manifested itself not only in anti-Yugoslav articles in the Albanian information media and in several statements by the official Albanian telegraph agency, but also in the activity of Albanian missions, including those which, by virtue of their position, should make a direct contribution to the establishment of good-neighborly relations between our two countries.

The impermissibly serious violation of the basic norms in particular is also the work and activity of the Albanian services to create a subversive irredentist nucleus in the SFRY and out of its citizens abroad under the guise of the so-called Marxist-Leninist groups of "parties." This is done with the aim of undermining the constitutional order in the SFRY and particularly destabilizing the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The Albanian press, likewise, foments and directly aids the anti-Yugoslav activities of some Albanian emigrees in Western countries. It also does not hesitate to bring under the yoke of its irredentist plans, especially in some of these countries, in addition to the Balist and Zogist emigres, the other parts of the fascist underworld including the Ustasha terrorist organization.

In connection with these phenomena, for our part, a warning has been given to those countries of the West which tolerate such anti-Yugoslav activity on their soil by giving consent to their citizens to organize anti-Yugoslav demonstrations, violence and (hatred). [TANJUG parentheses] Today it should be perfectly clear that one cannot employ a double standard with regard to terrorism because such attitudes hit back like a dangerous boomerang.

Such extremely irresponsible and adventurist behavior by the Albanian leadership represents the basic cause of the difficulties and disruptions which have arisen in Yugoslav-Albanian relations. Only opponents of normal Yugoslav-Albanian relations and those ill-intentioned forces which are interested in the destabilization and (?exacerbation) of the situation in this part of the world can draw real advantage from this.

It is also noticeable now from Albanian statements and articles that attempts are being made to formulate a double policy toward Yugoslavia. On the one hand, readiness for cooperation is expressed and assurances are made that Albania has not interfered and that it allegedly does not want to interfere in our internal affairs. On the other hand, there is a total identification with irredentist forces and actions in Kosovo and with instigating and guiding them.

Responsible people in Tirana should get rid of illusions that such a cynical approach will pay off and that it could deceive anybody. The road which Tirana has apparently chosen is an adventurist one and has very dangerous consequences, above all for Albania and for the Albanian people.

The latest events in Kosovo and, in this context, the serious tension which has arisen in our relations with Albania have evoked understandable interest in Europe and the world. Despite various attempts by Albania to misinform the foreign public, without being selective as to their methods, and to distort historical and actual facts, the world has correctly understood the essence of the matter.

Though we had no intention of commenting on Albania's foreign policy, because of the latest attacks by Tirana against our country and our peaceful nonaligned policy, some widely known facts should, even if briefly, be recalled. Albania's international policy has for several decades offered a convincing example of a bureaucratic-dogmatic concept in the development of the social relations and domestic life of a country. This has resulted, internationally, in an isolationist policy. Behind the shield of ideological orthodoxy and the purity of the ideological struggle, of militant and primitive rhetoric directed against everybody, there is in fact a weakness in this policy and in its protagonists' participation in international processes and in the struggle for progressive changes in world relations.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is not only the only European state which did not participate in the conference in Helsinki and in the general efforts to improve cooperation and security in Europe, but it is also the only country which rejects its documents and intentions. It is the only Balkan country which does not participate in the efforts to promote equitable multilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Balkan states. Albania also crudely attacks the policy of nonalignment as allegedly being the betrayal of the peoples' struggle against imperialism, hegemonism, etc, and as blunting the "revolutionary class struggle" in international dimensions.

This international policy of the Albanian leadership has led the country into self-imposed isolation, withdrawal into itself and fear of the world. It is evident that the slogan about the so-called "imperialist and revisionist encirclements" of Albania is not just a pretext to preserve and continue the internal police and bureaucratic constraints and isolation. It is also a pretext for adventurism in relations toward others, particularly toward neighboring countries, for the policy and practice of interference in the internal affairs of those countries, for organizing subversive activities and for putting forward territorial claims. This policy and practice of the Albanian leadership could be dangerous for the stability of relations and security in the Balkans and beyond, and in Tirana they should give serious consideration to this.

In connection with the situation which has been created, it is evident that what is ahead of us, as was stressed recently in the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency, is a critical reexamination of our practice in the relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in order that the practice of those relations and cooperation be brought in line with generally accepted norms and principles of interstate relations. In this connection, we would like to recall the proposals which we made earlier to Albania for the signing of a cultural convention by which we would determine the framework and the principles of developing this cooperation at the level of the two states, as well as of some other agreements which would also regulate other spheres of interstate relations. It goes without saying that the possibility of developing such relations will depend on the readiness of the Albanian side to have individual spheres of these relations regulated on an equitable and reciprocal basis in line with recognized international standards.

I would also like to remind you that due to Tirana's attitudes and behavior in connection with the events in Kosovo, we have politically reacted in public information media and by diplomatic channels and, above all, through assessments and conclusions by representative, executive and political organs, and in statements by individual leaders, including the most responsible officials of Kosovo.

On 14 May of this year at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, we handed a note to the Albanian ambassador in which we pointed out, in a substantiated and specific manner, in connection with the events in Kosovo and further afield, all of Albania's negative and unacceptable attitudes and behavior toward Yugoslavia. We also presented our readiness to continue to develop interstate relations, but with full mutual respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, inviolability of borders, noninterference and mutually useful cooperation. In handing over this note, we first acquainted the Albanian ambassador with its contents. He then took the note only to return it shortly afterwards to the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs. I am not providing this technical information because of some special significance but only to note the facts.

When explosives were planted at our embassy in Tirana, we sought by normal diplomatic channels from the Albanian side to establish and punish the culprits and to ensure the strict implementation of the obligations stemming from the Vienna Conventions on the protection and inviolability of diplomatic missions. Our public knows the way the Albanian side reacted, and the content of the so-called report of its "special" commission. Our experts have returned from Tirana. They carried out an on-the-spot inquiry which was possible several days after the explosion, and our public will be told of their findings. The insinuations which Albanian propaganda is spreading in connection with this case are as senseless as they are provocative.

In discussing in this house our relations with Albania and in stressing that our policy of good-neighborliness represents our lasting orientation firmly based on the policy of nonalignment and organically linked with our federal system and socialist self-management, we would like to recall some fundamental facts about which neighboring Albania should have no illusions whatsoever:

The SFRY considers its territorial integrity and inviolability to be untouchable. Our borders with Albania have been drawn and confirmed on the basis of international law and they represent a historical and political reality which no external or "internal" irredentist strategy can change. It would be very appropriate to recall on this occasion Comrade Tito's words when he said from the rostrum of the CSCE in Helsinki: "Now, when this conference is adopting the inviolability of borders as one of the fundamental principles of European security and cooperation, I would like to state formally here that my country considers this principle to be binding for it and for all its neighbors with regard to the existing borders, established either by peace treaties or by other valid instruments of international law, signed by the government of Yugoslavia and by the governments of its various neighbors or by them with the governments of some other states..."

Yugoslavia's constitutional order is Yugoslavia's sovereign right, as in the case of the constitutional right of any other independent country. It must be definitively clear to Tirana, as elsewhere, that our nations and nationalities, our citizens, will not allow anybody to interfere in this, their exclusive sovereign right. This applies to all our republics and provinces, and within this framework, also to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as an inalienable part of our community.

The equality and unification of our nations and nationalities which were established at the second session of the antifascist council of the national liberation of Yugoslavia, represents a lasting and inviolable achievement of our socialist revolution and of our self-managing political system. Precisely in order to further develop this achievement we shall resolutely oppose any nationalistic and separatist phenomenon and escalation. Nobody need doubt this. Our reaction to the challenge and violence of such elements in the course of the past few months in Kosovo [word indistinct] is the confirmation or our resolve.

As has already been said, we want to continue to develop relations with Albania on the basis of equality and reciprocity in the sphere of economic, border and [word indistinct] cooperation. This means on the principled and uniform basis of our policy of good neighborliness because we do not ask for different standards for relations with that country.

But, as was recently clearly stated by the most authoritative bodies in Yugoslavia, we shall resolutely oppose any attempt by the Albanian side to have this cooperation or its individual aspects abused or used for interference in our internal affairs, for propagation of international hatred and for instigation of irredentist tendencies. What we have in mind in this respect is, among other things, Albania's persistent attempt to maintain some aspects of relations and cooperation almost or totally exclusively with the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo due to the above-mentioned irredentist tendencies.

It goes without saying that in resolutely presenting this attitude we do not want to prevent the normal use of communications by the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia with the Albanian nation in Albania. But these ties must be free of paternalism and piedmontism. We continue to proceed from the (?attitude) that nationalities, particularly in this part of the world, should be a significant factor of building trust and cooperation, particularly between neighboring states. Tirana's present policy, to put it mildly, makes such aspects of cooperation substantially difficult if not impossible, precisely due to the irredentist nature of this policy.

To conclude,

Thus, we want to maintain normal good-neighborly relations with neighboring Albania. It is still our conviction that this represents the joint interest of the peoples of the two countries and that it is of no small significance also for the stability of relations, peace and security in this part of the world. We do not want to do anything which could call into question such joint and broader interests. It is up to the Albanian side to give serious thought to all the facts presented and to draw conclusions from this position and from these orientations of ours.

KOSOVO MUNICIPALITY OFFICIALS MEET IN PRISTINA

LD102050 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1753 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Pristina, 10 Jun (TANJUG)--A consultative meeting was held today in the Kosovo Assembly with the presidents of the assemblies and executive councils of the Kosovo municipalities under the chairmanship of Ousan Ristic to consider immediate tasks arising from the action program of the Kosovo League of Communists in the struggle against hostile and counterrevolutionary forces and for the stabilization of the political situation in the province. The municipal assemblies and their organs, it was concluded, are dutybound to amend their work programs as soon as possible in keeping with the assessments and conclusions of the highest party forums. In this, priority must be given to tasks connected with the elimination and liquidation of hostile activity and to the solution of all questions on which depend the further strengthening of self-management, socioeconomic development and the overall stabilization of the situation in the municipalities and the province as a whole. Special attention, it was said at the meeting, must be devoted to critically assessing the work of the municipal organs and to strengthening those organs to ensure complete consistency and efficacy in their work.

KOSOVO ADOPTS 1980 BUDGET FINANCIAL REPORT BILL

AU101828 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 81 p 5

[R.K. report]

[Text] Pristina, 25 May--At its session today chaired by Bahri Oruci, the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo adopted a draft bill on the annual financial report on the Kosovo 1980 budget.

Last year, the overall revenues were 2.2 percent higher than planned and the province's own revenues were 11.2 percent higher than planned. That was 29.3 percent more than the province's own revenues in 1979.

The additional funds provided by the federation reached the planned level, while the overall expenditures of the provincial budget were 5.1 percent lower than planned.

The Executive Council adopted a draft bill amending and supplementing the bill on housing relations. The basic changes deal with the conditions for obtaining and using a socially owned apartment in those cases in which the tenant owns his own apartment. Some changes also refer to changes in housing relations, such as in cases when accommodation must urgently be provided, the use of apartments obtained on the basis of employment, the right of the owner of the apartment to move into his own apartment and the use of two apartments.

For the sake of uniform criteria, there is also a possibility that the communes will be able to, by means of social accords, determine the criteria for obtaining the right to use an apartment in accordance with the law on housing relations.

KOSOVO UNIVERSITY ACCEPTS FACULTY RESIGNATIONS

LD092136 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 9 Jun 81

[Text] Pristina, 9 June (TANJUG)--There was an initiative to name the university in Pristina after Josip Broz Tito but this wish of the students of the faculty of philosophy remained unfulfilled, Vladimir Bovan, vice rector of the university, stated today while explaining his decision to resign.

At its session today, the council of the University of Kosovo accepted the resignations of Dr Gazmend Zajmi, rector, Dr Halil Turku, vice rector in charge of teaching and academic questions, and Dr Vladimir Bovan, vice rector in charge of material questions. At the same time, the council decided to call the elections for new university officers and set up a commission to carry out these elections. The election of the new rector and the two vice rectors of the University of Kosovo in Pristina will be held on Tuesday, 16 June.

In a short written resignation, Gazmend Zajmi, the outgoing rector, who did not attend today's session, says that he is resigning this post fully aware of his responsibility as rector for the situation at the university and concerning the university. he also stresses that he is at the same time resigning the office of president of the Presidium of the Community of Universities of Yugoslavia and the membership of this Presidium. Dr Zajmi adds the following to his resignation: "I want my decision on all this to be considered final."

Dr Halil Turku asserted in his resignation that he is always at the head of the LCY's actions, including the period from the first day of demonstrations until today. In a brief explanation, he said that he considers his resignation necessary for the further stablization of the situation at the university and states that he will always be ready to struggle resolutely for socialist self-managing development, for the consolidation of brotherhood and unity and for the ever-deepening equality of all our nations and nationalities.

Unlike the first two officers of the University of Kosovo, Vice Rector Dr Vladimir Bovan, apart from submitting a written resignation, also furnished a detailed explanation of his decision to resign this office. He stressed that he was ready at any time to be morally and politically accountable for all the mistakes and omissions in the performance of his duty.

Dr Bovan also recalled that as early as 18 April of this year, he wanted to resign over differences in the rectorate in connection with the preparation of data requested by the Presidium of the SAWP Provincial Conference on the number of lecturers of Albanian nationality who taught in the Serbo-Croat language. Dr Halil Turku, vice rector in charge of teaching, opposed this, stressing that this was not Bovan's sphere of work.

Dr Bovan particularly expressed his dissatisfaction concerning the preparations to change the university's name. According to him, there was an initiative from students of the faculty of philosophy to name this university after Josip Broz Tito, the first doctor honoris causa of the university in Pristina. The academic body of the university then replied that this proposal could not be accepted until consultations had been carried out with the provincial leadership. No report has been submitted on whether these consultations were carried out and, as is well known, the university was named the University of Kosovo.

Replying to Dr Bovan, Zecir Sehu, secretary general of the university, said that no such proposal had been submitted to the university either by the faculty of philosophy or any other faculty. Replying to this, Dr Bovan again stressed that he personally had seen this proposal and the signatures under it.

Prof Stevan Boljosevic, president of the council of the university, proposed to the members of the council that there should be no more polemics and exchanges of replies because the resignations had already been accepted. He added that these matters would be discussed in party organizations and that it would all be discussed at the next meeting of the council and that the members of the council would be acquainted with every detail.

Examinations at the University of Kosovo are proceeding normally, Ahmet Mumdziju said, speaking about measures taken to stabilize the situation at the university and improve the students' standard of living, another matter that was discussed at the session of the council. He reported that by the end of June, all Kosovo faculties and high schools would submit reports on international cooperation, particularly with the university in Tirana. Reports would also be submitted on the profile of university lecturers and on the faculties' publishing activity, especially in light of importing textbooks from Albania.

Today's session also adopted a report on material and financial questions at the university.

NUMBER OF KOSOVO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TO BE REDUCED

AU101818 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 81 p 14

[Summary] Pristina, 28 May (TANJUG)--The enrollment of new students at Pristina University for the next school year should be in accordance with the critical demands made in the action program of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, and the positions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and the LCY Central Committee. This was stressed in yesterday's talks between Dusan Ristic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, with representatives of the university, directors of higher schools and the provincial organs for education.

Following a talk lasting several hours, it was agreed that the realistic conditions, needs and opportunities for enrolling students should be reexamined to reduce the number of students as proposed by the university organs. The number of new students should be coordinated as much as possible with the needs of associated labor and the province as a whole. By 10 June at the latest, the executive committee of the Kosovo Assembly will once again review the enrollments.

KOSOVO YOUTH SUPPORT PARTY, STATE POSITIONS

AU091050 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] An enormous majority of Kosovo's young people have resolutely condemned all forms of activity from hostile positions and unconditionally supported the positions adopted by the party and state organs. This appraisal was made at today's session of the provincial conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Kosovo. Dobrosav Radovic, secretary of the presidium of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Kosovo, who delivered at the session a report of the presidium's working group on the tasks of the youth organization in the struggle against counterrevolutionary forces and to stabilize the political situation in the province, pointed out that this time also the high awareness of a great majority of young people about the enormous achievements in Kosovo's development and their readiness to defend the achievements of revolution have found their expression.

Radovic also called attention to shortcomings in the work of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Kosovo and in this connection stated that the work has been predominantly characterized by forum work, a superficial approach to the living problems of young people and insufficient work in acquainting the younger generation with political developments and especially with the successes achieved in the province's socioeconomic transformation.

Radovic said that in the course of activities against the enemy in the provinces, so far a certain number of young people have been expelled from the League of Communists, schools, faculties and student homes and 74 students and 30 schoolchildren have been deprived of their scholarships and student credits. The process of forming student aktivs is now in progress in all local communities of the province. A comprehensive sociopolitical activity will be developed in these aktivs especially during the summer vacations, Radovic said.

Unanimity has been achieved in condemning the counterrevolutionary activities of nationalists, Idriz Murici, delegate of the Kosovo University pointed out. He reported that over 100 students have been expelled from the League of Communists because of their participation in demonstrations and because of opportunism.

We are a happy youth because we have had Tito and we will never abandon Tito's road, Zejnel Abedin Ustaibo said and added that whoever stood in the way of Tito's youth would not get away with it easily.

In Vucitrn, the demonstrators did not succeed in provoking national conflicts and no tension has been introduced into human relations, Mihrije Hajdari stressed. She added that, nevertheless, the situation is not easy but that the intensive activity of the Federation of Socialist Youth--650 meetings of basic organizations have been held--is contributing to stabilization. She reported that in Vucitrn, 52 members have been expelled from the Federation of Socialist Youth and 13 members have been expelled from the League of Communists.

Ismet Kurtesi, delegate from Dragas, emphasized that the best way to support the Albanian nationality in the struggle against Albanian nationalism is to intensify the struggle against nationalists among one's own ranks.

Nationalist tendencies have increased among other nations in Kosovo simultaneous with the activation of Albanian nationalism, Azem Vlasi, president of the presidium of the Kosovo Provincial SAWP Conference, pointed out in his statement during the discussion. Vlasi added in this connection that one of the goals of these nationalist tendencies is to equate the irredentists and nationalists with the entire Albanian nationality, which naturally provokes a revolt among the communists and members of that nationality.

Speaking about the information media, Vlasi stressed that the limit has been reached at which some individual information media are already beginning to cause harm by sowing confusion among the people by reporting all kinds of statements, as he put it. We are a democratic society in which everything must be discussed, Vlasi stressed. He added that a detailed analysis would show how the information media could best contribute to stabilizing the situation in the province.

At the conclusion of its work, the plenary session of the provincial conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Kosovo agreed to authorize its presidium to prepare a specific proposal of tasks of the youth in the struggle to stabilize the situation in the province. The specific tasks will be elaborated in the basic organization of the federation.

JOURNALISTS MEETING IN KOSOVO POSTPONED

LD102104 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Pristina, 10 Jun (TANJUG)--The information media in Kosovo have not carried out their role successfully as a significant factor in forming socialist public opinion, and they have not taken enough action as part of the League of Communists political action. Proceeding from these assessments, the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee charged communists in all editorial offices in the province with becoming involved in the most responsible and consistent way in order to uncompromisingly (eliminate) the weaknesses and shortcomings in their own environments. League of Communists organizations in the public information media--as was emphasized in the provincial committee's action program--must wage resolute action on ideopolitical differentiation and the development of constructive criticism and self-criticism, including the personal responsibility of each communist and each member of the collective.

These and other tasks of Kosovo's journalists in the struggle against hostile counter-revolutionary forces and in favor of a stabilization of the political situation in the province should have been discussed at an expanded session of the assembly of the Association of Journalists, which was scheduled for today in Pristina. Naturally, it was expected that this, the first broad gathering since the escalation and brutal actions by Albanian nationalists and irredentists, would be used by journalists in the province to refer to their own work and have their say about topical issues of public information activity which arose as a result of recent events. It was also to be expected that special emphasis would be laid on their most important tasks in the long battle for a complete and lasting consolidation of the situation in Kosovo.

Unfortunately, this did not come true today, for the assembly was postponed. That is, out of the approximately 400 journalists invited from Kosovo editorial offices and other information institutions, only a few dozen responded. In the small number of those present, apart from many associates and editors, with the exception of one editorial office, none of the most responsible people from leading information establishments were present. This occurred, it should be said, at a time when constructive and involved critical debate in the information media has full support from society, but when a critical and self-critical attitude on the part of journalists themselves in relation to their own work and behavior is counted on, and rightly so. But, judging by today's events, this and such an attitude has not yet developed.

BORBA REPORTS MOJSOV TOAST AT BUDAPEST DINNER

AU101856 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jun 81 p 8

[TANJUG report on toast by Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the dinner given by Janos Kadar, MSZMP first secretary, in honor of the LCY delegation in Budapest on 3 June]

[Text] TANJUG--Replying to the toast by Janos Kadar, and expressing his gratitude for the invitation to visit and for the hospitality, Lazar Mojsov said:

"Your invitation to continue our open exchange of views within the continuation of comprehensive cooperation between our countries and parties has evoked a deep response in the LCY leadership and among LCY members, as well as among our peoples and nationalities. I thank you, Comrade Kadar, for your warm words to our country and the LCY.

"I fully agree with your statement that the relations between our two neighboring socialist countries and our two parties are good and exemplary. They are precisely as they should be between two neighboring and socialist countries. These relations are so stable because they are based on permanent principles: respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, mutual respect, equality and noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for different roads in building socialism and for differences in the international positions of the two countries.

"These relations are stable and lasting precisely because they are based on these correct principles that have been established in practice in our mutual relations over a long period. You, Comrade Kadar, and our great Comrade Tito have especially contributed to that. In the course of your numerous meetings, you laid a solid foundation that provides wide prospects for the further comprehensive development of Yugoslav-Hungarian relations also.

"We are deeply moved, Comrade Kadar, by your words on this occasion about Comrade Tito. We are proud of that great historical personage who led the workers class and the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia in the decisive historical battles for our country's liberation and for socialism.

"We know that Comrade Tito had great respect for relations with you, Comrade Kadar. He saw in you a firm and resolute fighter for the cause of the workers class and for the victory of socialism in Hungary. It is on these mutual feelings and traditional ties that have been established that we will continue to build a comprehensive development of our relations in the future also.

There are nearly no spheres in the life of our peoples and in our interstate relations which are not developing and which could not develop even more, for which we will work together. We regularly exchange views at all levels; we have developed economic cooperation and we maintain contacts and relations at local and regional levels. In this connection, we are greatly helped also by the nationalities--our nationalities--the Serbian, Croatian and Slovene nationalities in Hungary and the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia. We see the comprehensive development of nationalities and their equality as an additional tie and bridge in bringing our peoples closer to each other and in further comprehensive enrichment of our relations.

"In the present restless world, the comprehensive relations between our two countries, Comrade Kadar, are encouraging. That shows us that in the world and under conditions in which tension is growing, new hotbeds of crisis are being created, the arms race is continuing and attempts are being made to bring the ideological weapons and confrontation out of an obsolete arsenal, it is also possible to follow other roads of mutually beneficial cooperation.

"Our country and the LCY will firmly continue to follow this road of developing cooperation and will strive to ensure that wisdom, reason and efforts to overcome various difficulties and return to talks will once again find their expression in this restless world, and that all problems of the present world will be solved on the basis of equality. There are many of these problems. They are becoming increasingly grave precisely because of outside pressures and outside interference. Insufficient attention continues to be devoted to the enormous gap that divides mankind into developed and developing countries. With its activity among the nonaligned countries on the basis of the principles of the nonaligned policy under Tito's leadership, the SFRY has made many efforts to overcome this difficult situation in international relations.

"We will continue to do that in the future also. The workers class and all peoples and nationalities of our country will resolutely continue to advance along Tito's road. It is precisely the comprehensive understanding, rapprochement and cooperation between the people of Hungary and the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia that represents one of the great steps on this road of Tito. This cooperation not only promotes the mutual aspirations of our peoples, and it not only corresponds to the deepest interest of our working people, but is also in the interest of peace, international relations based on equality and socialism and progress in the world."

Joint Communique

LD051717 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] Budapest, 5 Jun (TANJUG)--At the end of the visit by the LCY delegation to Hungary, a joint Yugoslav-Hungarian communique was issued which says:

"At the invitation of Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, led an LCY delegation on a friendly visit to Hungary from 3 to 5 June 1981.

"During the visit, Lazar Mojsov and Janos Kadar held talks which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and openness and in the spirit of mutual respect. Taking part in the talks on the LCY side were: Bosko Krunic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee; Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and Milan Veres, the SFRY's ambassador to the People's Republic of Hungary.

"Taking part on the MSZMP side were: Mihaly Korom, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Andras Gyenes, secretary of the Central Committee; Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and chief of the Central Committee International Relations Department; and Pal Simon, ambassador of the People's Republic of Hungary to the SFRY.

"The representatives of the LCY and MSZMP carried out a comprehensive exchange of views on the state and prospects of Yugoslav-Hungarian relations and cooperation and on topical issues relating to the international situation and the international communist and workers movement.

"They acquainted each other with topical issues of socioeconomic and political development in Yugoslavia and Hungary and on LCY and MSZMP domestic activity. Lazar Mojsov spoke about the results so far of socialist development, the national economic and political situation, the realization of the economic stabilization policy, the continued development of self-management and preparations for the 12th LCY Congress. Janos Kadar gave information about the results of the building of socialism in Hungary, the multifaceted political and social activity in realizing the decisions of the 12th MSZMP Congress and efforts aimed at the balanced and effective development of the economy and the maintenance of the living standards of the working people.

"The leaders of the two parties noted with satisfaction the successful development of relations and cooperation between the LCY and MSZMP and between the two countries, and they emphasized that the comprehensive promotion of cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other spheres is the result of constant efforts by both sides.

"It was emphasized that friendly Yugoslav-Hungarian relations are based on consistent respect for the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and respect for differing paths of socialist development, interests, experiences and practice of both sides and differences in the international positions of the two countries. These principles were established at meetings between Josip Broz Tito and Janos Kadar and represent a lasting basis for the continued promotion of comprehensive, mutually advantageous Yugoslav-Hungarian cooperation and for the strengthening of friendship and trust between the neighboring peoples of Yugoslavia and Hungary.

"Highly assessing the level of cooperation achieved between the LCY and MSZMP, Lazar Mojsov and Janos Kadar confirmed their parties' readiness to continue to develop mutual cooperation and an open and constructive dialogue on questions of interest to both sides, as well as encouraging the holding of regular meetings and exchanges of views at various levels and enriching existing forms of cooperation.

"Emphasis was placed on the significance of results achieved in the sphere of economic cooperation. Satisfaction was expressed by both sides at the significant increase in the volume of balanced commodity trade, the long-term nature of economic arrangements and the ever-increasing representation of higher levels of cooperation--which have created the conditions for stable relations in this sphere--the favorable possibilities of their continued development were pointed out.

"A positive assessment was made of developments in the spheres of culture, science and education, and the readiness of both sides to continue to promote it was emphasized.

"It was noted that cooperation between the socialist republics and the autonomous provinces of the SFRY and the People's Republic of Hungary is developing favorably, as are cooperation at a local and regional level and between sociopolitical organizations. They also pointed out the significance of this cooperation for the overall development of Yugoslav-Hungarian relations.

"It was stressed in particular that the Croatian, Serbian and Slovene nationalities in the People's Republic of Hungary and the Hungarian nationality in the SFRY play a significant role in the development of good neighborly relations and the strengthening of trust and friendship between the peoples of the two neighboring socialist countries. They also pointed out the significance of the continued development of conditions for the comprehensive satisfaction of the needs of the nationalities and emphasized that through this the nationalities contribute more and more to the strengthening of mutual cooperation and friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

"An exhaustive exchange of views was held on topical international issues, with special attention devoted to the struggle for the relaxation of international tension and for peace, security and the development of international political and economic cooperation.

"Concern was expressed over the deterioration in the international situation. Detente has fallen into great difficulties. Negative trends are manifested in international relations, the arms race has gained new impetus, old crisis flashpoints have not been eliminated and new ones have arisen, all of which poses a serious threat to world peace and security.

"In such conditions, exceptional importance is attached to the strengthening of efforts by all countries and all progressive and democratic forces in the struggle for the development of equitable international political and economic relations and for a just and lasting solution to the problems that cause tension and conflict. The conviction was expressed that further assertion of the policy of active peaceful coexistence is necessary for peace and security in the world and that it represents a stable and permanent basis for cooperation of all states, regardless of their social systems. Support was expressed for all constructive proposals and initiatives which contribute to reducing international tension, solving international problems and limiting and ending the arms race.

"It was emphasized that the revival of the process of relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of international confidence is an essential condition for the resolution of burning world problems and that it is essential to make constant efforts to consolidate and continue to expand the policy of detente, with the active participation of all countries.

"Emphasis was placed on the great significance of the process of European security and cooperation and the Helsinki Final Act, the consistent and integral application of which is of essential importance for the vital interest of European nations and countries. It was judged that a successful conclusion to the Madrid session of the conference on Security and cooperation in Europe would be a powerful stimulus to the policy of relaxation of tension, which would have a positive effect on the strengthening of security and the promotion of cooperation in the spirit of Helsinki, not only in Europe and the Mediterranean, but in broader world dimensions.

"The current situation in the Middle East was discussed with concern. The continuation of the Israeli occupation of Arab territories and the policy of aggression toward Arab countries and the Palestinian people was strongly criticized. A lasting and stable peace in the Middle East can only be achieved by a comprehensive and just solution to the crisis on the basis of an unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and by the recognition of the inalienable national rights of the people of Palestine, represented by the PLO, including the right to create their own sovereign state, as well as on the basis of ensuring the sovereignty, independence and security of all states in this region.

"It was emphasized that the Nonaligned Movement is making a large contribution to the struggle for peace, security, the relaxation of tension, equitable cooperation and the peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts, and more just international political and economic relations, as well as to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and hegemonism.

"Lazar Mojsov and Janos Kadar exchanged views on trends in the communist, workers and other progressive movements in the world. It was noted that the forces of peace, progress and socialism are strengthening despite the difficulties with which they are confronted.

"The representatives of the LCY and MSZMP once again emphasized that all communists and workers parties and all other progressive movements determine their own policy, paths and methods of realizing their historic aims in an autonomous and sovereign way, proceeding from the socioeconomic and political conditions and national characteristics of their countries and from their responsibility to their own working class and people.

Emphasis was placed on the significance of the principles adopted in the document of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties in 1976 for the development of voluntary internationalist cooperation and solidarity between communist parties and all progressive forces in the world.

"Both sides expressed the conviction that the friendly visit to Hungary by Lazar Mojsov, at the head of the LCY delegation, and the broad exchange of views which took place on that occasion, will be a new stimulus to the comprehensive development of Yugoslav-Hungarian relations and cooperation and the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the two neighboring socialist countries.

"Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, invited Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, to visit Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure."

Mojsov Return to SFRY

AU051705 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Miodrag Vukmanovic report from Budapest]

[Text] As we have already reported, the LCY delegation led by Lazar Mojsov returned home from a visit to Hungary today. Here is a more extensive report from Budapest by Miodrag Vukmanovic on the last day of our delegation's visit to the capital of Hungary and on the first assessments of the results of the visit:

At the conclusion of the 3-day friendly visit to Hungary, Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and members of the Yugoslav party delegation were seen off at Ferihegy Airport in Budapest by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and high party officials who participated in the Yugoslav-Hungarian talks on the highest political level.

After cordially seeing off his guests, Janos Kadar addressed a group of Hungarian and Yugoslav journalists, reporting on the visit and assessing the talks as exceptionally successful. Kadar asked journalists to report on Yugoslav-Hungarian relations in the spirit of the political dialogue held in Budapest.

Mojsov and Kadar held a brief meeting in Mojsov's residence this morning. In this manner, the talks held during the preceding 2 days on bilateral and broader international issues ended in a friendly atmosphere. According to the appraisal of both sides, the talks were friendly, open and, as such, very useful for mutual understanding. Satisfaction was expressed over successful Yugoslav-Hungarian cooperation in all fields, and it was confirmed that the two parties were ready to encourage regular meetings and exchanges of views on various levels and to enrich the existing forms of cooperation.

The two sides expressed concern over the strained international situation and noted their support for all initiatives aimed at reducing international tension. During the discussion on the individual international problems a closeness of views was expressed, as well as certain differences whose political basis is well known.

The two parties agree that all communist and workers parties and other progressive movements should independently and sovereignly determine their policy, roads and methods of implementing their historic goals, proceeding from the socioeconomic and political conditions and the specific national trait of their country and from the responsibility before their own workers class and people.

During the talks, the two sides also pointed to the importance of the principles adopted at the Berlin conference in 1976 on the development of voluntary internationalist cooperation and solidarity among communist parties and all progressive forces in the world. The identical views of the two party delegations will be set forth in the joint communique on the Yugoslav-Hungarian talks in Budapest.

TANJUG VIEWS ALBANIA'S TERRITORIAL CLAIMS

LD102100 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)--The diplomatic missions of Albania in many countries and its mission at the United Nations have lately engaged in distributing a large map of "greater Albania" which shows the open Albanian pretensions to sizable parts of Yugoslavia and Greece.

"The history of the Albanian Party of Labour", printed in Tirana in 1968, and a "Collection of More Important Documents of the Party of Labour of Albania", printed in Tirana in 1968, and a "Collection of More Important Documents of the Party of Labour of Albania", published also in Tirana, in 1960, sharply condemned any expansion of Albania as a slogan of fascist invaders.

Thus a resolution adopted on November 8, 1941 at a meeting of the principal communist groups of Albania said: "The expansion of Albania was a slogan of fascist invaders and domestic traitors aimed at reviving the chauvinist feelings and heightening the enmity of our people towards the neighbouring Yugoslav and Greek peoples, and at keeping away the Albanian people from the national liberation struggle".

"The history of the Albanian Party of Labour" says: "The German and Italian fascist invaders have rekindled the old nationalistic quarrels and chauvinism of reactionary forces in Balkan countries.

"However, the communists and the whole people of Albania have not fallen into that trap of fascist demagogy. The unmasked the provocateur "greater Albania" policy and followed the path of intensifying the struggle against fascist invaders and the path of cooperation with the neighboring peoples in the liberation struggle against the common enemy, why relying on the peoples' right to self-determination". [sentence as received]

Do the present compilers and distributors of the "greater Albania" map not recognize that they have themselves fallen into the trap of fascist demagogy and ideology, and have identified themselves with them?

LCY MEMBER DOLANC MEETS ITALIAN CP OFFICIAL

LD102134 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1018 GMT 10 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 June (TANJUG)--Member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Stane Dolanc and member of the Italian Communist Party Directorate Ugo Pechioli had talks here today. Pechioli is on a visit to Yugoslavia under a programme of cooperation between the two parties and at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidency.

During a long friendly talk Dolanc and Pechioli exchanged views and information on internal developments in the two countries, the international situation and relations within the communist and workers movement.

FRANC POPIT ADDRESSES MONGOLIAN PARTY CONGRESS

For a report on the address by Franc Popit, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and president of the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, at the 18th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in Ulaanbaatar on 27 May, see the Mongolia section of the 11 June Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT.